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THE NEW GOVERNMENT MEASURE OF EDUCATION.

At a meeting of "the Manchester and Salford Auxiliary to the Congregational Board of Education," and other gentlemen, representing various Nonconformist bodies in Manchester and some of the surrounding towns, held in the vestry of Cavendish-street Chapel, Manchester, on Monday, May 2, 1853,

JAMES SIDEBOTTOM, Esq., of Manchester, in the Chair, the following resolutions and form of petition were adopted:—

It was moved by JAMES WATTS, Esq., of Manchester, seconded by the Rev. J. FOX, and unanimously resolved:—

I. That while this meeting greatly rejoices in the gratifying progress of Education in this country, during the last half century, which has been fourfold greater than the growth of population, as shown by Parliamentary returns, and mainly the result of popular energy and voluntary effort, yet it cannot refrain from expressing its decided dissatisfaction with the recent proposal of Government to interfere with public education by the novel and objectionable expedient of compulsory rates.

It was moved by JAMES DILWORTH, Esq., of Manchester, and seconded by the Rev. JOHN PETERS, Manchester (Wesleyan Association), and unanimously resolved:—

II. That in the opinion of this meeting, Lord John Russell, in introducing his Bill, has not only failed to make out a case for legislative interference, but has shown that such interference is quite uncalled for, as he stated (on the authority of the census of 1851), that the actual number of day scholars, exclusive of those educated at home, is 2,108,473, or one in 8½ of the entire population; and that nearly half a million sterling per annum is paid in schoolpence, in addition to the like sum raised by public collections and private subscriptions, for their education; facts which fully justify the confidence expressed in the voluntary principle, and clearly show the inexpediency of interfering with existing agencies, by measures which threaten to damage many existing schools, and to diminish the interest felt in education by its most earnest promoters, as well as by the parents of the scholars, by taking the work out of the hands of the former, and releasing the latter from the responsibility of providing for the education of their own offspring.

It was moved by the Rev. G. B. JOHNSON, of Darwen (Independent), seconded by HENRY DIXON, Esq., of Manchester, and unanimously resolved:—

III. That while this meeting strongly deprecates any kind of Government interference, as uncalled for, and as likely to discourage the voluntary efforts of the people, and to damage, if not altogether destroy, many educational institutions which are cherished with peculiar care, and sustained at considerable cost, by the friends of popular education, it regards the recent measure of Lord John Russell as peculiarly objectionable, on the following grounds:—

1. It is incomplete, and unadapted to the educational wants of the country, inasmuch as it is "a Bill for promoting Education in Cities and Boroughs" alone, and its principle is acknowledged to be hopelessly inapplicable to rural districts and non-municipal towns, for which other provision is contemplated.

2. It proposes to recognise by law the essentially unconstitutional character of the Committee of Council on Education, and to invest that committee with an enormous and perilous increase of power and patronage, and would furnish mercenary inducements to Government subversion, on the part of the stipendiary agents and teachers, and apprentices (to the number of 70,000, according to Sir James Shuttleworth's estimate), who would be virtually in the pay of the Government.

3. It would devolve on municipal bodies the duty of raising a rate for educational purposes, and involve them in the strife attendant on every fresh attempt to levy it, while it would give them little or no control over the funds so raised, and no kind of supervision of the schools supported by the rate.

4. It would divert the attention of municipal bodies from civil matters to such as are beyond their province, and, by requiring every Corporation to raise, by taxation, a fund for teaching every form of religion, would make municipal elections and town council proceedings sources of ceaseless and serious strife.

5. Its administration would involve an enormous expenditure of the national resources; as in the judgment of its proposers, no less a sum than two million sterling a-year, in addition to the present Parliamentary grants, would be required to give full effect to its provisions.

6. Besides involving a most wasteful enhancement of the cost of education, and a great increase of the burdens of an already over-taxed people, its proposed rate would be unequally distributed;—it would inflict the injustice of additional taxation on the Boroughs adopting it, which would have to pay again for the education of districts not provided for by the Bill, while it would be peculiarly oppressive to those ratepayers who might see fit to continue to pay for the schooling of their children, as they would be taxed in addition for the schooling of others.

7. It would seriously interfere with the independence, and relax the self-relying energy of a people who have shown themselves both able and willing to educate themselves.

8. It would violate the consciences of a large class of ratepayers, who object to compulsory provision for any kind of religious teaching, while it would compel them to support every form of religion, and consequently much that they deem pernicious and fatal.

It was moved by the Rev. J. CLUNIE, LL.D., of Manchester, seconded by the Rev. JOHN RAVEN, of Salford, supported by the Rev. J. BAUCE, of Bamford, and unanimously resolved:—

IV. That a petition, embodying the substance of the foregoing resolutions, be adopted by this meeting, signed by the Chairman, and sent to John Bright, Esq., M.P., for presentation to the House; and that these resolutions, and form of petition, be printed, and forwarded to the ministers of the various churches and congregations of Evangelical Nonconformists in Manchester and its neighbourhood, with an earnest recommendation that they will forthwith petition Parliament against the Bill, and adopt such other methods of opposing it as they may deem desirable.

It was moved by the Rev. W. PATTERSON, of Manchester (Wesleyan Association), seconded by the Rev. G. STANSFIELD (Primitive Methodist), and unanimously resolved:—

V. That these resolutions be advertised in the Manchester Examiner, the Manchester Guardian, the Leeds Mercury, the Patriot, and the Nonconformist newspapers.

(Signed)

JAMES SIDEBOTTOM, Chairman of the Meeting.

A. E. PEARCE, Honorary Secretary to the Manchester and Salford Auxiliary to the Congregational Board of Education.

THE NEW EDUCATION BILL.

AT a CONFERENCE of the FRIENDS of VOLUNTARY EDUCATION, assembled from various parts of England, and held at RADLEY'S HOTEL, London, May 6, 1853,

The Rev. JOHN HARRIS, D.D., in the Chair,

the following resolutions were unanimously passed:—

Moved by the Rev. JOHN BURNET: seconded by G. W. ALEXANDER, Esq.; supported by E. MIAL, Esq., M.P.:—

I. That this Conference regards the results as to the state of education in this country, brought out by the census of 1851, and stated by Lord John Russell in his recent speech in the House of Commons, as in a high degree satisfactory and encouraging, showing that there are more than 2,100,000 children in school, or 1 to 8½ of the whole population—a proportion closely approximating the ideal standard of the number that ought to be under instruction, as estimated by the most experienced educationalists: while the sum of half-a-million annually contributed by the working and poorer classes for the education of their children, proves that there are both ability and willingness on the part of parents to discharge a duty which is so peculiarly and sacredly incumbent upon them, and of which they cannot be relieved without serious and disastrous results to all parties concerned.

Moved by Rev. W. BROCK; seconded by JOSIAH CONDER, Esq.:—

II. That, in the judgment of this Conference, the Bill now before Parliament "For the Promotion of Education in Cities and Boroughs in England," is proved by the above facts to be an unnecessary interference with the progress of free education in this country; while they cannot but regard its provisions as being in other respects pregnant with serious and manifold mischiefs, tending greatly to increase the unconstitutional and dangerous power of the Committee of Council on Education,—to invest Government with an extent and a kind of patronage which may prove most perilous to the freedom and independence of the people,—to introduce into municipal bodies the discussion of religious questions, which must inevitably produce painful irritation and strife,—to perpetuate and aggravate the conscientious grievances of those who object to being taxed for the teaching of all kinds of religious opinions,—to pauperize the minds of parents, and diminish their inducements to self-sacrifice and sobriety,—to discourage and ultimately extinguish those voluntary exertions by which such great results have been already achieved,—and to recognise the right of the State to interfere in a work which this Conference sincerely believes to be alike out of its province and beyond its competence.

Moved by J. R. MILLS, Esq.; seconded by R. S. ASHTON, Esq.:—

III. That a Petition to Parliament, embodying the sentiments contained in the foregoing Resolutions, be adopted and signed by the gentlemen forming this Conference.

Moved by Rev. J. C. HARRISON; seconded by J. W. PETER SMITH, Esq.:—

IV. That a Deputation, consisting of the following gentlemen, be appointed to wait upon Lord John Russell and other Members of the Government, to represent the sentiments of this Conference on the educational measure now before Parliament:—

| | |
|---------------------|----------------------------|
| R. S. Ashton, Esq. | Rev. J. H. Hinton. |
| Rev. W. Brock. | J. R. Mills, Esq. |
| Rev. Dr. Campbell. | S. Morley, Esq. |
| James Carter, Esq. | W. Walker, Esq. |
| Josiah Conder, Esq. | D. W. Wire, Esq., Aldermn. |
| Rev. Dr. Harris. | |

Moved by SAMUEL MORLEY, Esq.; seconded by Rev. THOS. SCALLES; supported by FRANK CROSBLEY, Esq., M.P.:—

V. That this Conference respectfully requests the following gentlemen to sit on a Committee to watch the present measure, and to take all practicable means to resist its further progress (with power to add to their number):—

| | |
|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| G. W. Alexander, Esq. | Rev. Dr. Harris. |
| Rev. William Brock. | Rev. John Kennedy. |
| Rev. John Burnet. | Rev. J. H. Harrison. |
| J. Bartram, Esq. | Rev. Dr. Massie. |
| Henry Bidgood, Esq. | E. Mial, Esq., M.P. |
| R. S. Bendall, Esq. | Samuel Morley, Esq. |
| John Clapham, Esq. | Daniel Pratt, Esq. |
| Rev. Dr. Campbell. | Rev. Henry Richard. |
| James Carter, Esq. | Henry Rutt, Esq. |
| Ebenezer Clarke, Esq. | William Rutt, Esq. |
| Josiah Conder, Esq. | Joseph Soul, Esq. |
| H. R. Ellington, Esq. | George Simmons, Esq. |
| Rev. W. Grosor. | D. W. Wire, Esq., Aldermn. |
| Rev. J. H. Hinton. | Samuel Underhill, Esq. |

The Rev. Dr. Harris having vacated the chair, it was taken by Edward Baines, Esq., when it was

Moved by L. HENWORTH, Esq., M.P., and seconded by Rev. H. RICHARD:—

"That the cordial thanks of this Meeting be presented to the Rev. Dr. Harris, for his kindness in presiding on the present occasion."

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SUNDAY-SCHOOL UNION.

AT the ANNUAL MEETING held in EXETER-HALL, Strand, on THURSDAY, May 5, 1853, The Rt. Hon. the LORD MAYOR, M.P., in the Chair,

The following resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

Moved by Rev. W. W. ROBINSON, Incumbent of Christ Church, Chelsea; seconded by Rev. Dr. ASCHER:—

I. That this Meeting desires to acknowledge with gratitude to Almighty God the evidences afforded by the Report just read, of the extension of the Sunday-school system, and its beneficial results on the continent of Europe and throughout the world, and rejoices that the labours of the Union have been instrumental in so many ways to the attainment of these objects—that the Report be printed and circulated—and that the following be the Officers and Committee of the Union for the ensuing year:—

PRESIDENT—WILLIAM BRODIE GURNEY, Esq.

TREASURER—The Right Hon. the LORD MAYOR, M.P.

SECRETARIES.

Messrs. Wm. Henry Watson

Messrs. Robert Latter

Peter Jackson

William Groser

COMMITTEE.

Messrs. Henry Althans

Messrs. G. C. Lewis

William Bugby

John Mann

William Bugby, jun.

J. A. Meen

George W. Burgo

W. J. Morrish

Robert N. Collins

Richard Mullens

Francis Cuthbertson

John H. Newman

Joseph Davis

Charles Reed

Joseph Eke

John Shorman

William Gover

John Stoneman

F. J. Hartley

William Turner

Mr. Stephen Warner, Honorary Member, with the Minute Secretary, and three representatives from each of the four London Auxiliaries.

Moved by the Rev. Dr. BRAUMONT; seconded by Rev. J. D. SMITH, of Dublin:—

2. That this Meeting feels itself called upon to express its deep and solemn conviction, that the civil and religious privileges and the social prosperity of this country have been upheld, and its tranquillity preserved, by the firm and steady attachment of its people to the fundamental principles and observances of Christianity, and especially by their reverence for the sanctity of the Lord's-day; that this Meeting, therefore, feels called upon to enter a decided protest against any proposal to open places of recreation or amusement on the Lord's-day, and would earnestly call upon Sunday-school teachers, in the Metropolis and throughout the kingdom, to take immediate and energetic measures for counteracting such efforts, and, by the holding of public meetings of the parents of their scholars, and in other ways, to endeavour to maintain in all its integrity the Christian Sabbath.

Moved by Rev. JOHN ADLEY; seconded by Mr. W. GROSER:—

3. That the cordial thanks of this Meeting be presented to the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, M.P., for his kindness in presiding on this occasion.

W. H. WATSON,

P. JACKSON,

R. LATTER,

W. GROSER,

Honorary Secretaries.

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THE Nonconformist.

"THE DISSIDENCE OF DISSENT AND THE PROTESTANTISM OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION."

VOL. XIII.—NEW SERIES, No. 391.]

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[PRICE 6d.]

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Ecclesiastical Affairs.

ANTICIPATED CHURCH-RATE PROPOSALS.

ONCE more the evening fixed for the discussion of the question of Church Rates has been postponed. We will not quarrel with the arrangement. As we have not the slightest expectation that the matter will be proceeded with this session, beyond a single night's debate, we know not that any disadvantage will result from taking that debate after, rather than prior to, the Whitsuntide recess. Sir W. Clay and Mr. Phillimore may have some reason to complain that having, in deference to Lord John Russell's wishes, resigned their claim to an earlier evening, the noble lord's engagement to give up to them Monday night was not kept. On the other hand, the Government reasonably plead the urgency of the Budget, in excuse for their change of purpose—and, assuredly, the question of Church Rates can much better afford to wait awhile, than the Chancellor of the Exchequer's financial propositions. We must express, however, our earnest hope, that the 26th of May, assigned by the noble lord for the debate on this subject, will not be filched away from the hon. members who have taken this question under their conduct—but that, under any circumstances, they will then be permitted to submit to the House of Commons their respective propositions.

The nature of those propositions we are unable to lay before our readers on authority. We can speak only from hearsay—but, perhaps, we shall not be very wide of the truth. It is, we believe, the intention of Sir W. Clay to propose the entire abolition of this obnoxious ecclesiastical tax. But inasmuch as it is obviously desirable that Church fabrics, which are national property, should be preserved from decay, he will probably suggest that the necessary cost of doing so should be defrayed out of the funds, in the hands of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, derived from the better management of what is designated Church Property. All other expenses incident to divine service are to be met, we believe, by the attendant worshippers. The plan ascribed by rumour to Mr. Phillimore is less complete and satisfactory. It embraces, we have heard, a registration of Dissenters, as such, which registration is to exempt them from payment of Church Rates, and, at the same time, deprive them of all right to meddle with the affairs of the Established Church. In short, by one and the same arrangement, he would relieve Nonconformists from the obligations, and denude them

of the rights, which law has assigned to members of the National Church.

Now if such be, in substance, the proposition which the Bill of the hon. member for Tavistock is intended to embody, and which, no doubt, has been dictated by a spirit of ecclesiastical liberality, we shall be doing our readers a service by pointing out to them its true bearing and consequences.

We assume, then, that the property now in the enjoyment of the Church of England is, at least, all descriptions of it being included, six millions sterling per annum. We calculate the actual amount collected by means of Church Rates at about £300,000 a-year. Suppose that Dissenters pay about one-third of this tax. Mr. Phillimore proposes, in effect, that we should be freed from our share of the impost, under conditions which will also destroy our share of the property—and, in the event of his success, the religious denomination to which he belongs will quietly appropriate, as exclusively their own, all that national property which consists of sacred edifices, parsonages, glebes, lands, and rent-charges, which are now secured by law to the Church of England. Every registered Dissenter will escape a vexatious impost—but he will also renounce his right to any part or portion of Great Britain's ecclesiastical wealth. By a subtle and pleasant process of elimination the grand desideratum of the Tractarian party will ultimately be attained. The Church of England will cast out of its bosom all dissentients—and the entire property which she now enjoys, by virtue of her nationality, will remain the exclusive possession of such as have not registered themselves as Dissenters under the proposed Act. In any way, the Church will gain an advantage by this measure. If multitudes register, the fewer are those who will remain to claim, and to exercise control over, our immense ecclesiastical resources; whereas, if but few register, none but those few will have a plausible excuse for shrinking from the pecuniary obligations devolving on State-church members.

We believe that the number of parishes in which Church Rates are now levied, amount to not more than about 8,000 out of the 15,000, into which England and Wales are ecclesiastically subdivided. In a considerable number of these—especially the more populous—the parishioners have, for many years past, refused a rate. In a much larger number, the support of the fabric and service of the Church is defrayed out of funds specially bequeathed for that purpose. Should Mr. Phillimore's proposal become law, it is probable that in parishes where there is no rate, as well as in parishes where the rate is made and levied, all *bond fide* Dissenters will register, if only to protect themselves from a chance of future annoyance. The consequence will be that in half the parishes of the kingdom, the Church will resign nothing whatever but a right of which she either cannot, or need not, now avail herself, and will acquire exclusive title to the wealth that she enjoys—in other words, she will pass from a State institution into the new form of an endowed sect, retaining every atom of property, without giving up anything better than a mischievous figment. The member for Tavistock adroitly proposes to purchase from the people of England the fee simple of their immense ecclesiastical wealth, for the benefit of Protestant Episcopalians, by the sacrifice of a doubtful £300,000 a year—and he would effect this transfer by a plan professedly designed to "make things pleasant" to all parties.

We repeat, in justice to Mr. Phillimore, that we give the outline of his project, as we have received it, from hearsay only. But if we have

rightly described it, we are sure that no further observations will be necessary to induce our readers to protest against it as insidious and unfair. We must not part with our birthright for a mess of pottage. The possible settlement of the State-church controversy is not so very remote as to authorize Dissenters thus to alienate from themselves all rightful interest in Church possessions. The plan of Sir William Clay is open to no such objections. There is no reason for condemning it in principle. Church edifices are partly ours, as is the Church property out of which he proposes to repair them. We might, indeed, in strict justice, demand that they who have the use of them *rent free*, should be held bound to do all that is needful to preserve them from dilapidation. But it is also a claim which we may waive until the greater question is decided as to the future appropriation of all Church property. By the proposal of the hon. member for the Tower Hamlets we retain our hold upon both the buildings and the funds out of which provision is to be made for their reparation—and we get rid of the grievance and injustice, the bickerings and heart-burnings, of the Church Rate system, quite as effectually as by the plan of Mr. Phillimore. There cannot, therefore, be a moment's hesitation as to which is the proposition to which we should give our assent and support.

And now, let us intimate that, in our judgment, the postponement of the debate until May 26th, is, in one view of it, a fortunate circumstance. It will give further time to the opponents of the Church-rate system to bestir themselves. The number of petitions for the abolition of Church Rates, sent to the House of Commons, up to the present moment, considering the importance of the subject, is lamentably small. Any deficiency in this respect may now be remedied. That such will be the case we devoutly hope—and although we can have no well-grounded expectation that the iniquitous system will be put an end to during the present session, we may still anticipate that the ground will be laid for complete and not very distant success. It is evident, however, to all who would help forward this movement, that what is done should be done quickly.

THE CHURCH-RATE QUESTION.

In the House of Commons, on Monday night, Lord John Russell intimated that, in accordance with his promise to give a Government day for the discussion of Sir W. Clay's motion on church-rates, he would fix Thursday, the 19th, for that purpose. Sir W. Clay agreed to the arrangement, provided it was distinctly understood that no further postponement should take place. There is thus a further opportunity for the preparation of petitions to Parliament, and for constituents to memorialize their members.

On Friday last, at a vestry meeting in St. Stephen, Coleman-street, after a spirited protest against the levying of a new rate for the support and repair of the parish church and the services therein, Mr. J. E. Saunders, jun., moved, and Mr. Elliott seconded, the following resolution, which, on being put from the chair by Mr. Churchwarden Hunter, was carried by a majority of two to one of the parishioners present; viz.—

Parish of St. Stephen, Coleman-street.—Resolved, that the parishioners of the above parish, in vestry assembled this day, would record their approval of the motion of Sir W. Clay, M.P., in the House of Commons, for the abolition of church-rates; and do cordially give their concurrence in the alteration contemplated; and direct their vestry clerk to send a copy of this resolution to each of the members for the city of London, politely requesting them to support the same in the House; and that the foregoing resolution be advertised in the *Times*, *Daily News*, and *Morning Advertiser* newspapers.

St. Stephen's, Coleman-street, is the largest city parish, and we trust that the above example will be followed by others. We would especially recommend

that where the opponents of these exactions are at present unable to rid parishes of such rates, they should, on all occasions, endeavour to obtain such a public avowal of their injustice.

ANTI-STATE-CHURCH ASSOCIATION.

The annual meeting of this Association was held on Wednesday evening last, in Finsbury chapel. The spacious building was well filled by an attentive audience, whose numbers and enthusiasm indicated unabated interest in the objects of the society. The chair was occupied by William Edwards, Esq., the treasurer of the society, and there were also on the platform:—L. Heyworth, Esq., M.P., Edward Miall, Esq., M.P., J. P. Murrrough, Esq., M.P., Apsley Pellatt, Esq., M.P., William Edwards, Esq., Rev. J. C. Galloway, Rev. H. Richard, Joseph Cooper, Esq., Charles Jones, Esq., Rev. C. F. Vardy, Rev. J. Voller, of Tipton, J. F. Bontems, Esq., of Hemel Hempstead, Rev. A. Good, George Bayley, Esq., Thomas Box, Esq., Rev. George Rose, Rev. W. C. Frith, of Croydon, Rev. W. Bedford, of Narborough, William Baines, Esq., of Leicester, E. Ashworth, Esq., of Rochdale, Rev. Basil Cooper, Rev. T. E. Stallybrass, Rev. J. Howell, of Brill, Rev. Hugh Jones, of Carmarthen, Rev. Henry Solly, Rev. C. Winter, of Southminster, Rev. W. Griffiths, of Derby, Mr. Barry, of Brill, Mr. Johnson, of Thame, Rev. H. N. Barnett, of Evesham, Rev. P. Dickerson, Rev. I. Doxsey, Rev. E. S. Pryce, of Gravesend, E. Clarke, Esq., Henry Everest, Esq., of Rochester, W. E. Whittingham, Esq., Rev. W. Tyler, Rev. Thomas Davies, J. Nunneley, Esq., of Harborough, J. G. Cockerell, Esq., H. R. Ellington, Esq., G. Moore, Esq., and Mr. P. Crellin.

The Chairman, in opening the proceedings of the meeting, said:—There may, perhaps, be some persons present to whom a short account of the formation and the proceedings of this society may be not altogether uninteresting [hear]. The Anti-state-church Association was formed nine years ago at a meeting of between 600 and 700 gentlemen, at one of the principal towns in the kingdom. The object of the Conference was the establishment of an organization which should draw public attention to the evils, religious, political, and social, which arise from the connexion between Church and State, and which should use all legitimate means of removing those evils. By the separation of Church and State we mean that the State should resume to itself for national purposes the whole of the ecclesiastical property of this country, life interests and private property in the Church being respected and provided for [hear, hear], and that all religious denominations should, in future, support their own ministers and religious institutions, and build their own places of worship. Various means have been employed by the Association for giving prominence to their principles, and carrying out their objects. Public meetings have been held frequently in most of the towns in England and Scotland, at which deputations from the society have attended. Lectures have been delivered by friends and agents of the Association throughout the country, and tracts have been freely distributed. Political events, as they have occurred from time to time—so far as they have related to ecclesiastical questions—have afforded the Executive Committee an opportunity of sending circulars to liberal members of the House of Commons, urging upon them to give practical effect in the House to those principles of civil and religious liberty which they have always warmly advocated on the hustings. Addresses have also been sent to the ministers and members of various denominations, Churchmen included, pressing upon their attention the importance of a cordial co-operation in carrying out an object of such religious and social importance. During the last two years the Executive Committee have employed, to a greater extent, the means afforded them by the press. They have issued a series of volumes, under the designation of "The Library for the Times" [hear, hear], in which, in an instructive and interesting form, the evils consequent on a State Establishment have been depicted, and the persecutions described to which our Nonconformist fathers were subjected, and the obstacles which a State Church has always interposed to the progress of civil and religious liberty. I am happy to say that more than 20,000 of these volumes have found their way into the hands of the public [hear, hear], and I trust that they are producing an impression upon the minds of their readers, the fruits of which, at no distant day, will materially aid in the cause we have undertaken [hear, hear]. I have endeavoured briefly to lay before you the origin of the society and its mode of proceeding, and the means we have employed, and still intend to employ; and we look to you, my friends, to aid us in this matter. The responsibility does not rest only upon the Executive Committee; it is shared equally by the friends and subscribers of the Association, and, therefore, they should use the utmost exertions in the cause. When we look around and see the aspect of ecclesiastical movements in the present day, I think we have every reason for encouragement to prosecute the work we have undertaken. While those who believe Church Establishments to be contrary to the word of God are endeavouring to remove the evil, events are happening every day in the Establishment itself—and these will be more particularly alluded to by and by—which will ultimately aid us in the object we are endeavouring to secure [hear, hear]. Some have said that we should make this purely a religious, and not a political question. The fact

is, the upholders of State Establishments have so mixed up religious institutions with State policy that it is impossible to free religion from its influence and the thralldom of the State without using political means [hear, hear]. Moral influence alone will never repeal bad laws; if we want to get rid of them the only way is by Act of Parliament. Therefore, we are anxious that all our operations should be carried on in a spirit to which no one could object who wished to create that moral influence throughout the country which shall so tell upon the House of Commons as to convince it that the only wise and just course which it can pursue is to confine its legislation to politics, and to leave the support of religion to the zeal and earnestness of its professors, and the vital energy of its own truths [applause].

Mr. J. C. Williams, the Secretary, then read the following report:—

Although the present is not a meeting for the transaction of business, and it has not been customary on such occasions to present an elaborate report, the audience will probably be glad to be furnished, within the compass of a few minutes, with some particulars relative to the recent proceedings and the present position of the Association.

Nine years have just elapsed since, by the act of a body of more than 700 delegates, the Anti-state-church Association was called into existence. Twice have similar assemblies ratified that act, and given pledges of continued devotion to its high object; and now the Executive Committee are looking forward to a third Triennial Conference (to be held in the autumn), when the society's course of action will again become matter for the earnest consideration of its friends.

To whatever cause it may be attributable, it must be evident, even to the least observant, that during these nine years there have been effected changes of sentiment, on the part of individuals, and of important sections of the community, which now hold out to the advocates of the Voluntary principle a prospect brighter far than has cheered them at any former period. Politicians and journalists have almost ceased to regard the "separation of Church and State" as a mere abstraction emanating from dreamers and fanatics, and can even speak of it without a smile or a sneer, as a change certainly "looming in the distance," however gradual may be its advance. While this Association has been engaged in insisting upon the incongruity of an alliance between religious institutions and the secular power, its teaching has been unexpectedly and strikingly enforced by events occurring within the pale of the Establishment; and subserviency to the State—distraction and clamour—corruption and inefficiency, have been demonstrated, and, to a large extent, have been acknowledged, to be the natural results of employing legislative machinery for the attainment of spiritual ends.

Tried by the most practical of all tests—that of a general election—the state of public opinion in relation to this controversy has been satisfactorily shown to be one of progress towards that point to which it is our aim ultimately to carry it. It is true that our principles are not yet adequately represented in the House of Commons, but they have obtained—what has not been realized heretofore—a fair parliamentary footing, and have been distinctly enunciated and respectfully listened to, in a quarter where they have usually been altogether ignored. There have also been occasions since the commencement of the present session of Parliament, when the votes recorded on ecclesiastical questions have been numerous enough to make it evident, that, by pursuing a firm and judicious policy, the advocates of Anti-state-church principles in the House of Commons will, in the present position of parties, not unfrequently be able to exert an important influence on legislative proceedings.

Under such circumstances the Committee have felt that prudence obviously dictated the propriety of giving increased attention to Parliamentary business, with a view to availing themselves of the many favourable opportunities now presented for the inculcation of their sentiments. When, early in the present year, Mr. Spooner proposed the withdrawal of the Grant to Maynooth College, the Committee were glad to exert whatever influence they possessed in favour of the more comprehensive and equitable proposition of Mr. Scholefield, which sought, not the repeal of the Maynooth College Act only, but of all other enactments granting State endowments to religious bodies of whatever sect. It was no small source of satisfaction to them to find that as many as seventy members of the House of Commons were willing to record their votes in favour of such an amendment; as well as to mark in the expressions of opinion elicited in the course of the debate, significant indications of those modified views to which reference has just been made.

The introduction by the Government of a Bill enabling the Legislature of Canada to apply to secular purposes proceeds of public lands hitherto reserved for ecclesiastical purposes, was an event of greater importance, because of a higher practical value. Such a measure could not but afford the utmost gratification to the Committee, since, if passed into law, it would enable the people of Canada to accomplish an object on which their hearts have long been set, and so strike a blow at ecclesiastical domination in the colonies, the force of which must presently be felt in the mother country itself. The second reading of the Bill was carried by a large majority, and its passage through Parliament appeared likely to prove a source of unmixed pleasure to the opponents of State-churchism, both at home and in the colonies. But the Government of this country is, of necessity, Church-ridden, and of its ecclesiastical measures it may be said, "The trail of the serpent is over them all!" Hence, when the Bill was in Committee, the Ministry became the mutilators of their own measure, by proposing the omission of one of its three clauses, which rightly repealed an enactment rendering the Consolidated Fund of this country liable, to the extent of £9,600, to make good any deficiency in the revenues derivable from the Clergy Reserves secured to the Churches of England and Scotland in Canada.

The Committee unhesitatingly concluded, that such a proposal, as involving a departure from the principle of the Bill, and indicating an unworthy subservience to ecclesiastical influence, should be resisted with the utmost determination. One hundred and ten members of the House of Commons concurred with them in that view, and the Ministry were saved from defeat only by the intervention of their opponents, who were willing to

waive the triumph of a party for the aggrandizement of the Church. Had not the Government, subsequently, extricated themselves from the difficulty of their own creation, by announcing that the law officers of the Crown were of opinion that the supposed guarantee would be inoperative in the event of the secularization of the Clergy Reserves, and by refusing to make it perpetual, it would have been matter for serious consideration whether the bill should not be, as it might easily have been, rejected on the third reading. The House of Lords has since adopted the measure; refusing, by a large majority, to exempt from its operation the revenues now received by the Church of England in Canada; and thus the inhabitants of that colony will now become possessed of a power for which they have long earnestly struggled, and which it is confidently anticipated will be exercised in accordance with the most sanguine wishes of the supporters of this Association. The value of such a result need not be insisted upon, while the passing of this bill may be pointed to as shadowing forth the necessity likely to be imposed upon future parliaments of gradually abandoning, however reluctantly, all State interference with the religious concerns of the people.

Other topics of an ecclesiastical character have yet to come before Parliament during the present session. The *Miscellaneous Estimates*, which will shortly be voted, have been examined by the Committee, who have called the attention of liberal members of the House of Commons to the numerous sums proposed to be voted for ecclesiastical purposes. Upon the more important of these items they are anxious that divisions should be taken; and, with reference to the whole, they think it desirable that advantage should be taken of the occasion for protesting against such an appropriation of public money, more especially in those cases where expenditure for the improved administration of church revenues is made a charge upon the general taxation of the country, instead of upon the revenues themselves.

On Monday night, Sir W. Clay will submit a motion for the abolition of church-rates, Dr. Phillimore, at the same time, proposing a measure for the amendment of the present state of the law. The Committee understand that the object of the latter gentleman is to relieve Dissenters only from the payment of church-rates, and that on the objectionable conditions, that they submit to a system of registration and to a curtailment of their parochial rights. It is scarcely needful to add, that in their judgment the only satisfactory amendment to which the church-rate system is open is its entire abolition, and though they have no confident expectation that such a remedy is about to be applied, they entertain the hope that, as the result of the important inquiry by the Committee of the House of Commons in 1851, and of the efforts made to obtain support for Sir W. Clay's proposition, decisive progress will be made towards the ultimate attainment of that object.

Much of the time of the Committee has been occupied in the carrying out of the literary scheme designed to supplement their more direct exertions for the education of the public mind. They are glad to have it in their power to announce that the circulation of the volumes of the "Library of the Times" continues steadily to increase, but looking to the almost boundless field which has to be occupied, they renew their urgent request that the members of the Association will to a greater extent share with them this portion of their labours. There is scarcely an individual having the society's object at heart who could not effect something in his own locality to make the existence of such works known, and to find for them willing readers, and, remembering that years may elapse before this struggle can terminate, there is the strongest inducement to bring before the young and inquiring minds of the community, principles and facts likely to exert a salutary influence upon their future action in relation to matters of public interest.

The Committee, in closing this brief statement, desire to give expression to their feeling that the responsibility resting upon the supporters of this movement is greater now than at any former period. It is on all hands acknowledged that circumstances have never so concurred to facilitate the prosecution of this great enterprise, and it may even be affirmed that the character of the efforts put forth during the next few years may greatly determine whether success is within comparatively easy reach, or must be regarded as indefinitely postponed. But it is, at the same time painfully obvious that the full strength of those by whom success is professedly desired has not yet been called into activity, and that there has not been that union of heart and purpose to be desired in men holding views so deeply affecting the highest interests of man.

The Committee will, therefore, esteem it a fortunate circumstance if the forthcoming Conference of this Association can be made the occasion for a more intimate association in feeling and action of all who, to a deep conviction of the magnitude of the evils arising from Church and State connexion, add an earnest desire to embody that conviction in the adoption of appropriate means for stirring up and instructing the mind of the country, so as to hasten the time when public opinion, fully matured and finally resolved, shall take up the question of Church Establishments as the political question of the day demanding an immediate and final settlement. The providential arrangements of God appear designed to prepare the soil for a liberal scattering of the seed: let not the sower withhold his hand, or hesitate in the belief that he shall in due season reap if he faint not.

Of the letters received from gentlemen who had been invited but were unable to attend, the following were read:—

DEAR SIR,—I am really sorry to be obliged to absent myself from your meeting, and from the honourable post at which you invited me,—but the fact is, I find myself so overburdened with engagements and occupations during the session, that I have been compelled to decline all public meetings in London during the sitting of Parliament.

I need not tell you how heartily I sympathise with every honest effort to free Christianity from the mischiefs which are inseparable from its connexion, under any form, with the State. I am often puzzled to imagine how anybody can suppose that the cause of religion can gain from a contact with the selfishness and chicanery of political struggles, and it appears to me that the question can hardly be well explained to any candid mind without creating at least a strong doubt as to the wisdom of the ecclesiastical arrangements of this, and of almost every other country. In the course of your great movement, I should recommend strongly that it should not appear to be an attack upon the Established Church, so much as upon the false principle upon which all established churches are founded; that you should rather labour to free all churches from the fetters of the civil power, than to overturn a particular church. In the one case you will probably find your

labours and arguments appreciated more and more; in the other, you will raise hostile feelings, which make argument useless, and conviction impossible. There are many symptoms apparent which indicate a *weakening* of the Establishment principle. It is distinctly observable in Parliament, and in the country, and especially so within the Established Church itself, and from this you will draw encouragement, and gather fresh strength for the future stages of the conflict. I wish you every success at your annual meeting, and in the noble undertaking to which you have committed yourselves.

Believe me, yours sincerely,
J. Carvell Williams, Esq. JOHN BAYLY.

MY DEAR SIR.—It will not be in my power to attend the meeting of your important society on Wednesday next.

I trust you will have a good meeting, for there never was a time when it was more important that your principles should be universally disseminated. It is lamentable, indeed, to find in the proceedings of the House of Commons, when business is pressing, of the utmost importance, that there should be such a waste of time in the discussion of religious questions—and, worse than all, of religious endowments, of the most vexatious character. We have, to be sure, disposed, for ever, of the vexed question of the Canadian Clergy Reserves, though threatened with the dismemberment of the Empire, rather than the foregoing of a paltry endowment for the benefit of the clergy in Canada.

After *fifteen* divisions in the House of Commons, a majority of the representatives of the people have declared *fifteen* times in favour of the removal of the disabilities of the Jews; but, as often as the Commons sent their bills to the upper House, so often they have rejected them. To me it does seem most objectionable that the bishops should sit in that House, to nourish all the remains of bigotry and intolerance.

But it would be needless to detail all the bickerings and heart-burnings of the present system and its workings. It is impossible to convey an adequate idea of the bitterness that was exhibited on the Maynooth question, and by gentlemen who ultimately voted together in the same lobby, in behalf of their united claims on the public purse.

Better times are coming. Carefully study the late census, and you will see the progress of your principles and wishes remarkably exemplified. The promoters of Establishments in the United Kingdom are in a decided minority; and, amongst them, there are great changes of opinion taking place, and it may be that reform may begin in the Church itself. The good seed that was sown by the persecuted Puritans in America, has taken root, and is bringing out its results; so that it would be as easy to remove the country itself as to promote ecclesiastical establishments there—indeed, I am not aware that in any single colony we possess, the people would, of their free will, tolerate them. And, best of all, a reform in the representation of the country cannot be long delayed; and, whenever the voice of our countrymen can be freely expressed, we may safely rely on having a free religion.

Let us not, however, forget that we are Christians; and that our great object is to secure the advancement of the spiritual kingdom of our Great Head. Let us be assured that our success will be in proportion to the maintenance of the truth within us, and the impression we make on the public mind that we have "a single eye" to this.

I remain, my dear Sir, yours very truly,
J. Carvell Williams, Esq. GEORGE HADFIELD.

The Rev. John Burnet moved the first resolution:—

That this assembly has unshaken confidence in the soundness of the principle—that the Legislature outsteps its province in attempting to provide for the religious culture of the people, and that while such interference operates to the prejudice of religion, the Legislature is itself obstructed in the discharge of its political functions.

The resolution which I am called upon to move and which, I have no doubt, this meeting will, in the most decided and marked manner, adopt, states that the principles of this society are sound; it tells us further that the Legislature has nothing to do with the advancement of religion as a body. I wish they had more to do with it individually [applause]. We have no objection to individual legislators taking up the matter of religion, but we have an objection to their coming forward in a body, composed of all sorts of people, infidels, formalists, soldiers, sailors, some of them good, some of them bad—all sorts of people coming forward and saying, "We as a body are the conservators of Christianity for the nation" [hear, hear and cheers]. That really is the ground which the Legislature of this country takes up; and let us not conceal it. The Legislature says, "We won't crush you, but we'll pick your pockets [laughter]. We will let you think as you please, but you will pay for our thinking [laughter]. We will let you build as many chapels as you like at your own expense, but you will also build our churches in addition to your chapels. We will let you get anything you please from those who may be inclined to support you, and who are equally far gone in error with yourselves, but you will pay, at the same time, tithes and church-rates to us" [hear, hear]. Is that freedom? Would you say that a passenger on a highway has liberty to go on, when he is told that he must give his purse before he goes? Is that a free-man on the highway? [hear, hear, and laughter.] Now, if that is the case, why should they attempt to delude us by talking to us of toleration, when they know so well that toleration simply goes to the fact that they will not imprison us and burn us as they used to do, but that we still must pay? [hear, hear, and cheers.] I reckon the system which proceeds upon this principle to be a disgrace to the other noble institutions of the empire [hear, hear]. We may be told, that if we object to the connexion between Church and State we wish to do away with half the constitution of the country. Well, sir, if half the constitution of the country is rotten, the sooner it is removed the more healthy will the other half become [hear, hear, and laughter]. If individuals like to think that a forced support of religion is half that constitution, I have nothing more to say, than that it is only a wen, and the sooner it is cut off the more beautiful will that constitution appear [hear, hear, and laughter]. Away with the idea that we are dependent on the connexion of Church and State for the majesty, the vigour, and the beauty, of the British constitution. It is a matter of great importance to think where it is possible that this idea of State-churchism could have had its origin. We are told that it belongs to human nature; for example, Adam and Eve were the heads of the Church in their day [much laughter]—and it is not necessary for me to tell you that they did not behave well. They were most assuredly the heads, for they had to do with their own family. In the next place, the sovereigns of different countries must be regarded as the heads of all estates in those countries. Now, here I should like to ask you what made religion an estate at all of any

country? [hear, hear.] It was not the intention of the Author of Christianity that it should be a political estate of any country under heaven [hear]. I grant that the sovereign ought to be the head of all estates, but I deny that Christianity should be regarded as one of them. We ask, Who was it that gave to heads of nations the headship of the Church? Constantine took the headship, and he made the persons of whom he professed himself to be a humble servant to tremble under the rod of his imperial authority [hear, hear]. Well, we come to the Pope, who jumps into the throne of the Emperor, and comes down to us not with one crown, but with three; and I think that is a very suitable and appropriate ornament, inasmuch as the man has gone three times beyond his right [laughter]. And when he is shaken, and his power is in danger, he gets Papal Austria or Papal France to come and set him up in his place again; and when one of the legs of his throne breaks down they come to stick in another, and he finds the broken chair supported by 12,000 men, under the command of generals who have had a higher reputation than they can ever earn by supporting the old chair of St. Peter [laughter]. Now, here is the state of the case. We find a church establishment to be an obstructive system; we find violence done to our rights; we find conscience touched in its tenderness; and when we regard the whole of the usurpation of ecclesiastical authority by temporal states in all its workings, I think we shall all feel, that although the principles of this Association may perhaps be obscured, a day is coming, and that day is not far distant, when the clouds that hang around the sun whence it derives all its principles, shall be dissipated, and this Association will be found in the history which shall then be recorded to have stood forth, in noble defiance of every effort to crush it, in support of individual, religious, and national freedom [loud applause].

J. P. Murrugh, Esq., M.P. for Bridport, said:—Though I profess to believe all the doctrines of the Established Church, of which I am a member [hear, hear], nevertheless, while bowing to its orthodoxy, I have some right, as a thinking member of that establishment, to impugn the propriety of its discipline [loud applause]. It is with this sentiment, gentlemen, that I come before you to second this resolution, and I think I may claim, as some recompense for that sincerity with which I speak, and allow me to add, that sincerity with which I register my votes, the privilege of giving a little plain and wholesome advice upon this subject. You have heard letters read from two of the most distinguished members of the present Legislature; they advise you to take a temperate course, and in that advice I cordially concur. But, gentlemen, it is impossible to disguise from you this apparent and conclusive fact, that the blow which is to level all ecclesiastical distinctions in this country, and which is to place the religion of every family in the country on a par with every other, but still, I trust, in sympathy with it, is to be struck by the great body of Nonconformist Christians [applause]; and of the moderation of Nonconformist constituencies I appear before you this evening as a proof. Gentlemen, do not let us deceive ourselves. Recollect, that some hundreds of years ago the Nonconformists had acquired a great power in the State; but they did not conduct themselves with that moderation with which, I trust, you will conduct yourselves in that day, which I believe is not far distant, when you will again acquire, not a religious supremacy, but religious equality. I hope you will then be more discreet, and that your moderation will show you to be more worthy of political power. After referring to the Anti-Papal agitation, he said: Gentlemen, I am about to leave the subject to abler speakers, to those who have enjoyed longer your confidence, those whom you have known more years than the humble individual who now addresses you. This movement has not only my best wishes and my warmest advocacy, but I firmly believe that the public mind in this great country can never be, to all intents and purposes, really tranquil—that Roman Catholic Ireland can never be tranquil to that extent which this country and the interests of England demand—while the irritating blister of a Church Establishment exists [applause]. I do not mean to condemn the Protestantism of Ireland, but I have to regret that a plant of so much promise has been planted in oppression and watered with tears [hear, hear]; I believe that Protestantism might have overshadowed Ireland at one time—but they chose to plant it in blood [hear, hear]. I feel satisfied that neither in England or Ireland can the public mind be tranquil, until all shades of religious denominations are placed on that footing, that they may have power to unite equally together, and that one peculiar shade shall in no wise usurp pre-eminence [loud applause].

The resolution was then put to the meeting, and was unanimously adopted.

The Rev. J. J. Brown, of Reading, moved the second resolution:—

That recognising the importance of endeavouring to create a national sentiment in harmony with the principle already expressed, this meeting rejoices in the existence of the Anti-state-church Association, and at the measure of success which has attended its operations. That it especially urges upon its friends the duty of assisting the Committee to circulate widely the volumes of the "Library for the Times," and also of taking steps for sending to the approaching Triennial Conference a large and influential body of delegates.

He said: This Association is based upon a principle so simple and so clear, and yet so universal, as to apply to all times, and to all countries, and to every race. This resolution rejoices in the success which this Association has had in promulgating that principle in this country. It has certainly done much in that way; it has got a hearing for the great controversy of the age—it has raised it above the region of party fights and religious revilers, and impressed it as a universal principle applicable to all. We are now, in relation to this question, just what we are at

this season of the year in relation to vegetation; it is the season of harrowing and culture, and preparation; we are now by speeches and lectures, and writings, sowing the seed; the public mind will be a fertile soil; the harvest will be ripened, the sickle will be put in [applause]. The resolution also refers to the future, as it glances at the past. The past ought to be an impetus to our future operations; every particle of success obtained, and every particle of ground covered by us, ought to help us on in our future struggles [hear, hear]. There are two points to which this resolution specially refers; the one is the "Library for the Times"—the other is the Triennial Conference, which will be speedily held. I think the Library was a happy conception; there never were times in which this question could be more fairly and favourably discussed than the present. The ground has already been cleared of many other questions, financial and social; and if there be any questions looming in the future distinctly, they are of an ecclesiastical kind, from the state of our Legislature at home to the functions of legislators in our dependencies. Now you are discussing whether the Canadians shall do as they please with their own property; then you are discussing whether a man who cannot say the words, "on the true faith of a Christian," shall represent this great city in Parliament [hear, hear]. The question, sir, sparkles amid the golden visions of Australia; it whispers amid the din of the Kafir war; and this "Library for the Times" just meets the case. It addresses itself to the understandings and the consciences of men, it has painted with a masterhand the "free church of ancient Christendom," ere her garments were soiled, and she enthroned by the unhallowed hands of man [hear, and cheers]. It has enshrined in memories of beautiful brightness the noble deeds of Roger Williams, the founder of religious freedom in America, and of John Milton, the poetic supporter and vindicator of spiritual and political liberty at home; it has traced the "footsteps of our forefathers" in their wanderings for liberty to worship their God; and in their sufferings, which have sanctified the prisons and the scaffolds of our country, it has sung the requiem of the "heroes and martyrs of the Covenant"—men whose praise is mingled with those of the lark and the plover on the hills and in the dales of Scotland, and whose blood, too, has bespangled the heathery moors of that land; and then, going to that country where this institution has been liberated; it has illustrated the principle by "the test of experience," and shown that love to God and man are sufficient to enforce and promulgate the gospel of Jesus Christ [applause]. And this is not only a Library for the Times, but it is a Library for the People also. It addresses itself to intelligent readers of every class. There is a great diversity between the times in which we live and those which have not far gone by. In former days reading was limited within a narrow circle; now it is well nigh the privilege of the whole mass of the people. This is pre-eminently a people's question. It is not one of the crotchety abstractions of thoughtful but impractical men—no, it enters into every-day life and every-day action. Talk of abstractions, indeed! Why, the budget of the Chancellor of the Exchequer may just as well be called an abstraction as the State-church question. I speak not now of the money part of the question simply—I speak of it as a grand obstruction to political and social progress. Wherever we go it meets us, thwarts us, opposes us. From a man's birth till his death, it seems to have a claim upon him. Even the education of the people has been retarded by its influence [hear, hear]. And why is it that amid the tide of life flowing through the streets of this vast capital, the burial-places are filled to overflowing? Because the Establishment has a lien upon the very dust of the dead [hear]. There is one other point to which this resolution refers, and that is the approaching Triennial Conference. This I take to be a very valuable and important element in the constitution of the Association. The executive bodies need to come into contact with those who appoint them; those who appoint them need to be refreshed and invigorated by the executive. The approaching Conference promises to be of great importance in connexion with this Association. The past has done much. Why, Troy was besieged by all the chivalry of Greece for a longer period than this Association has assaulted the Church Establishment. But the work of the future may be expected to be more rapid and decisive. If you, then, in this great city, set an example to the provinces, and if the provinces respond to the appeal of the executive, and send a large body of influential delegates, I doubt not that this Conference will be more important and influential than any that has preceded it. It can give new energy, supply new resources, and suggest new modes of action. I hope, therefore, that all the friends of this society will circulate widely these volumes for the times, and that in their various circles they will exert their influence to make the next Conference impart a decided impulse to the Association [cheers].

The collection was here made, after which

Apsley Pellatt, Esq., M.P., addressed the meeting. He said: Ladies and gentlemen, I am happy to find myself associated here with old friends. I most sincerely concur in the resolution, and I am quite sure that you will use your influence in behalf of the principles which it contains [hear]. It states that the Association should have our best wishes for a large measure of success not only in its future operations, but also in its retrospect. For myself, I have grown in this matter; and as I have advanced in years I have expanded in Liberal principles. I believe we never stood in a better position in relation to this question than we do at the present moment. There are many things which it was desirable to have removed in order to improve their prospects. There are certain parish matters, for instance, that stand in the way of our obtaining our civil and re-

ligious liberties. There is what is commonly called Sturges Bourne's Act, which gives six votes to every person possessing property to the amount of £150 per annum; whereas, when you send a member to Parliament, he has only a right to one vote, whatever be his property qualification. The state of the church-rate question gives an undue influence to persons of property. Our best thanks are due to the Society of Friends for the sufferings they have endured in this cause; but I think, if they had been as active outwardly in their parish districts as they have been patient in bearing the inflictions they have had to suffer, we should not be in our present condition. And I may, perhaps, reverse the picture, and say, that if we had been as resolute as the Society of Friends have been for 150 or 200 years past, and had been content to suffer incarceration and penalties, rather than suffer a violation of our consciences, we should not have been in the low position in which we now find ourselves [hear, hear]. A friend of mine—and I do not esteem him less a friend because he happens to be a Roman Catholic—has promised me, if I will second his efforts, that he will move this session for the repeal of Sturges Bourne's Act [applause]. Mr. Pellatt then entered into a long and interesting account of a suit in which he was engaged in the Arches Court some years ago, where he was summoned in a church-rate case, and concluded by saying, "So long as a kind Providence favours me with health and strength and moral courage, you may rely upon it I shall never be wanting in my place in Parliament to avow the sentiments which I entertain as a Nonconformist. Not that I wish to ask anything for myself as a Nonconformist, or for my party; but because I desire to contribute to the moral health of the community, and to see the cobwebs of antiquity swept away, and our statute-book cleared of the enactments with which it has been so long disgraced" [cheers].

E. Miall, Esq., M.P.: Possibly, this meeting will bear with me for a few moments, considering the different position that I now occupy from that which I have heretofore occupied in advocating the claims of this Association, if I go over some of those elementary propositions with which many in this meeting will be perfectly familiar, but which I wish to send forth, if it be possible, in the ears of the whole population of this country. I believe there is a very considerable mistake with regard to the object of this Association. In the House of Commons I believe there is a large amount of sympathy, but there is a considerable misunderstanding as to the end which we seek to attain. We have been rather too much accustomed to treat this question as though it were a question affecting Protestant Dissenters exclusively. We have not based our arguments and appeals so much as we ought to have done upon broad, catholic, national grounds. Our object is not an *ism*; it is not Independency; it is not Baptism; it is not Presbyterianism; it is not Roman Catholicism. This Association knows none of them. It says that men professing religious opinions shall stand upon a footing of equality before the law of this country, that they shall suffer no disadvantages in consequence of their religious creed, that they shall receive no favour from the State in consequence of what they believe spiritually, and that they shall, every man according to his own disposition and liberality, maintain or not maintain the institutions in which they are interested. Sir, we go for what has been called in modern times religious equality; but mark—the religious equality which we profess is not an equal share of the spoil. We repudiate public money for ourselves, as well as for others. We will be no parties to any transactions which will hand over the estates now enjoyed and wasted [hear, hear] by Protestant Episcopalians to any other party whatever. We wish to do as we believe they are about to do in Canada; we wish to secularize our Clergy Reserves [cheers and laughter]. We think the property enjoyed by the National Church is, therefore, national property; and all that we wish is that that property shall be so used as that the whole people of the realm may derive benefit from it, instead of a section only [hear, hear]. The object of the Association, then, is not sectarian, but national; it is not intended to interfere with the creeds or even the discipline of any church, but it is simply intended that all churches should stand or fall upon their own merits, without fear or favour from the Legislature of the country. We have a terrible waste of time in the House of Commons in discussing religious questions. We might, I think, with far more profit to the people, be discussing those matters that relate to their civil and their temporal interests. Members of Parliament debate upon whether it is acceptable to the Almighty, that a man who does not believe as they believe should be admitted to their assembly to consult with them upon the interests of the people. Sir, in that assembly we certainly go to great lengths of absurdity, and also to some extent of impiety; for we settle what are the decrees of heaven in relation to what should be the constitution of the British realm; and we come to the conclusion—nay, we do not, but *they* of the Upper House do, that it would be offensive to Almighty God, and an unchristianizing of that holy place, that there should be one Jew in our assembly to consult with us upon the interests of the people. We have Jews in the nation, and they call it a Christian nation; but if we have one Jew in the Legislature, it will not be a Christian Legislature [laughter]. We are pointed at as men who set ourselves up against the voice and decree of heaven itself. Now this Association would put down all that; we wish to remove the subject entirely from the notice of the Legislature. Let them attend to the temporal interests of the country, but let them not interfere with those matters that relate simply to the state of the mind and the conscience as between man and God. This is the whole of what we are seeking

to accomplish. Of course great changes would arise out of the practical exemplification and development of that principle. You know what those changes are. First, we should get rid of every law inflicting the smallest discouragement or disability on any in consequence of their religious creed. In the second place, it is very probable that we should allow the "right rev. fathers in God" who now sit in the Upper House of Parliament, clothed in black and white, to retire each to his own diocese, the better to perform those spiritual duties which we know are so much more congenial to their tastes and their character than anything in which they can engage in the Legislature [laughter and cheers]. Then we should secularize the whole property belonging to the people which is now appropriated to religious purposes; always bearing in mind, that whilst we do a great national good, we should be careful to avoid committing individual injustice, saving life interests, and giving full compensation to any whose property has, in the legal sense of the term, been injured by the alteration. This object may be difficult of attainment. I know it; it is the enterprise of a life-time. Yet the signs of the times are in our favour. Be the cause what it may, our principles are making rapid progress, and we have arrived at a state of things in relation to this question, which we should have looked upon with perfect wonder and amazement ten years ago. After all, I believe, the Bishop of Exeter has been our best ally; and I think that other of his reverend brethren who have either been members of the Ecclesiastical Commission, or received benefit from it, have done much to promote the furtherance of Anti-state-church principles. I find that in the House of Commons a deep disgust has been excited by the selfish conduct of those who profess to have the superintendence of the religion of the whole country, by whose management at least half of the fund committed to them for the improvement of the church has been by a mere technical evasion, shovelled into the pockets of the bishops for the purpose of beautifying their palaces, and otherwise giving advantage to their worldly position [hear]. Men who make no boast of their religious principle are disgusted with these things [hear, hear]. Some of our friends, or those who ought to be our friends, speak of this as an impracticable thing. Well, sir, in the year 1833, the Free-trade question was in a position more depressing and more hopeless than that in which the question is now placed. When a Free-trade sentiment was brought forward in the House of Commons, even during the time of Lord Melbourne as Prime Minister of this country, it was howled down by noises that are perfectly indescribable [laughter]. Since that time the question, falling into the hands of men who understood the work they had to do, became perfectly triumphant, and that within twenty years of the time when it might be regarded as being at zero; so that there is scarcely a man who has any regard for the reputation of statesmanship—nay, of sanity—who dare avow himself in these days a Protectionist [cheers]. Even to-day, when it was incidentally mentioned, there was a general indisposition to moot the subject on both sides of the House; and if the sentiment might be interpreted in popular language, it was this—"Oh no, we never mention it" [laughter]. Now, with that example before our eyes, why should we say that this is an impracticable question? We do not seek to effect a greater change than was effected by the repeal of the corn-laws. I do not believe that the temporal interests of the aristocracy will be so apparently affected by the separation of Church and State as they were expected to be by the corn-law repeal. Our question is a plain and simple one, and may be told in three or four words; it is that every man should pay his own parson [laughter]. Common sense can understand that; an ordinary feeling of justice can appreciate the force of it; and with such a principle it will be our own fault if we cannot go through the length and breadth of the land, and fill the public mind with that sentiment. When we do that, depend upon it it will make its appearance in Parliament, and make its force felt there. For whatever may be the defects of our constitution, yet, in the long run, the public mind will make itself understood and felt through the medium of our institutions. "If this country," as Earl Grey said lately in the House of Lords, "determines that property now devoted to Church purposes shall be devoted to Church purposes no longer, it will be no use to tell the people that they have no right to dispose of the property [cheers]. They won't care about your theories upon Church property; depend upon it they will settle the question, if, unhappily, they should ever come to the conclusion that such property was not properly bestowed and appropriated." I don't say, "if unhappily," but "if happily," the people can be persuaded that religion is a thing for them individually to care for, and not for the Legislature to interfere with—if the people will secularize the property devoted to religious uses—if they will allow religion to stand or fall by its own merits—then, depend upon it, the Legislature will soon record the decision of public opinion. The truth is, our chief work is out of doors; and, as soon as ever you have informed the public mind sufficiently, the pressure will be as natural as the rising of water to its own level [cheers]. You cannot move the House of Parliament by any factitious proceeding; it is not by a pretence, but by a reality, that you can do work there; and, when you have done your work out of doors, your task will be comparatively easy. I ask you, then, Do you intend to withdraw from this movement? [cries of "No, no."] Have we not had sufficient encouragement that the work is not impracticable? Has not the principle been yielded by our own House of Lords? not confessedly, it is true; for it was said to be in the Canadian case on the ground of colonial policy. And we know what that was [hear, hear]. The whole question, then, is settled for the colonies. South

Australia has withdrawn all State assistance to religions of any kind, and the other Australias are inclined to follow the example. Ireland is the next point upon which public attention will be concentrated; and there the Establishment will be swept away not by Dissenters, but by a national and political feeling. Then we cannot touch Ireland without remembering Scotland, where two-thirds of the people are practically Dissenters, and where one-third at least are theoretically Anti-state-church people. Wales, I may say, has settled the question for itself, for I believe not one twentieth part of the population attend the religious provision made by the State on their behalf. When we have thus narrowed the issue, the question will come to this country, where it will be decided peaceably, and by argument. Constituencies will send members to Parliament who think with us upon these principles; the members will confer with one another; and depend upon it, the very first time we bring forward a motion upon which the Legislature will have to say aye or no to our principles distinctively, we shall have as large a minority as the Anti-corn-law people had when the question was first mooted in Parliament. But even if I did not see all these probabilities before me, I should be ashamed to say that any work which concerned the advancement of Christ's kingdom was perfectly impracticable [applause].

Rev. Edward Pryce, of Gravesend, proposed the third resolution:—

That this meeting finds cause for congratulation in the opportunities presented for the advocacy of Anti-state-church principles in the House of Commons, by the frequent discussion of ecclesiastical questions, in the manifestation of an increasing disposition to give them a respectful consideration, and in the number of votes which have been recorded, more or less directly, in their favour, since the commencement of the present session of Parliament.

How best could they influence constituencies in the election of members?—for he conceived that another election was not far distant, and it would not do to be taken unawares [cheers]. It was, moreover, the duty of electors—their imperative duty—to instruct their representatives, and to instruct them too in such a manner as to give them to understand the right direction their votes should take [cheers]. Many of the representatives, then, in the House of Commons were teachable men [laughter and cheers]—it was the duty, therefore, of Nonconformist electors to instruct them in the way they should go. The hands of those who in that House (Commons) upheld their principles would thereby be strengthened. The speaker quoted from a recent speech of the Bishop of Oxford, in which that prelate said that they who would separate their religion from their politics were guilty of practical atheism; and said it afforded an instructive lesson for those fair and easy Nonconformists who thought that the young Dissenting ministers who engaged in political contests, or in questions such as those which had brought them together that night, were going out of their proper sphere of duty. As those quiet Dissenters to whom he alluded thought that Anti-state-church meetings were not respectable, he was the more anxious that they should learn such a lesson from so very respectable an authority as the Lord Bishop of Oxford [laughter and cheers].

Lawrence Heyworth, Esq., M.P., seconded the resolution. He would beg to offer a suggestion for them to consider [hear]—it was that they should propose the transfer of all the public church property of the country, life interests being respected, to the Chancellor of the Exchequer for the benefit of the public; but that all livings in the hands of private individuals should be handed over to them to do as they thought proper with them [no, no, and hear, hear]. By adopting this plan they would have a large number of the landed gentry on their side [laughter and cheers].

Charles Jones, Esq., proposed the thanks of the meeting to the Chairman, which was seconded by

Rev. W. Griffiths, who congratulated the Association on the progress of its principles in the House of Commons [hear, hear, and cheers]. They had with them that night several members of that House [cheers]. This he viewed as a very significant sign of the times. Not long since, Lord Shaftesbury said at a public meeting, that the laity of the Church of England would not much longer be content to be hewers of wood and drawers of water to the clergy of their church. Was not that another and a very striking sign of the times? [cheers.]

The Chairman having briefly acknowledged the vote of thanks, the proceedings terminated.

THE BUCKS ASSOCIATION OF BAPTIST CHURCHES held its yearly meeting at Chesham last week, when, among other resolutions which, were the following:—

This Association, believing that entire religious liberty can never be enjoyed, and Christian intercommunion never be fully carried out, while a State Church exists, rejoices in the efforts made by the Anti-state-church Association to enlighten the public mind on this great question, and as an earnest of their approval of such efforts, depute the Rev. G. Ashmead to be its representative at its forthcoming Triennial Conference.

This Association, after its oft-recorded opinion on the subject of education, as to the inexpediency of Governmental interference, protests against the measure of her Majesty's Government as, in its judgment, unnecessary, impolitic, and unjust.

REFUSAL TO PERFORM THE MARRIAGE RITES.—A correspondent states that on Wednesday last, a couple were to have been married at the parish church, at Pitsford, near Northampton. The clergyman, knowing the lady to be a Dissenter (she being a native of the place) refused, he said, to perform the ceremony unless she would consent first to be baptized and receive the sacrament—which she at once refused to do. The marriage took place the next day at All Saint's Church, Northampton.

CLOSING OF THE CITY GRAVEYARDS.—On Friday, a general meeting of beneficed clergymen of the city of London was held at Zion College, to take into consideration the closing of the city graveyards by order

of the Government—a circumstance which will deprive many of the incumbents of large portions of their incomes. The proceedings were private, but it was agreed that a representation should be forwarded to Government.

THE MADIAI.—The release of the Madiai is accounted for by the *Christian Times* as having been brought about by the ex-Duke of Parma, who abdicated, some time since, in favour of his son, and had been led to feel a warm interest about the Madiai, together with a strong sense of the impolicy, as regards his Church, of such gross persecutions. In these feelings his son, the reigning Duke, was led to participate, and, the week before the liberation of the Madiai, our countryman, Mr. Ward, who is become the most confidential and useful agent of his Government, was sent over from Parma to Florence on the subject. He found the Court of Florence vowing that they could not, and would not, yield to England. Mr. Ward, with Yorkshire good sense, suggested that France should be induced to make the request, and that the concession should then be made to France. This was done—France did apply; and to France the concession was made.

BISHOP OF NATAL.—The Rev. J. W. Colenso, son of Mr. Colenso, of Lostwithiel, has been appointed Bishop of Natal.

Religious and Educational Intelligence.

VALEDICTORY SERVICE.—On Saturday last, an interesting tea-meeting was held in the Baptist chapel, Chowbent, in connexion with the departure of the Rev. Thomas D. Worrall, the pastor of the church meeting in that place, for the United States. During the evening a purse was presented to Mr. Worrall, together with a written testimonial, which was passed unanimously by the meeting, and which stated, among other things which were very flattering to his character, that "the church had been brought, through his exertions, into a state of vigour and activity it never before manifested."

CORRIDOR-ROOMS, BATH.—On Wednesday evening, the 4th inst., the Rev. H. Addiscott, of Taunton, presided at the formation into a separate body of those members who seceded from Argyle church on the Rev. W. H. Dyer's accepting the pastorate. Mr. Addiscott addressed the friends from Romans xv. 5, exhorting them, in a very impressive and affectionate manner, on their present position and peculiar duties. The number of those who have already resigned connexion with Argyle church, and united themselves in church fellowship in the above place of worship, is 115, many of whom were the oldest and most influential of Mr. Jay's late church. The Rev. H. Addiscott administered the sacrament to the members of the new church on Sunday morning last, after preaching a sermon.—*From a Correspondent.*

MARSH GIBBON, BUCKS.—A neat and commodious chapel, in connexion with the Independent denomination, was commenced in this village on the 2nd inst. The foundation-stone was laid by W. Chapman, Esq., Treasurer of the North Bucks Association. The Revs. J. Ashby (Secretary of the Association), T. Attenborough (of Winslow), W. Ferguson (of Bicester), R. Ann (pastor of the church), and H. W. French, Esq., of Buckingham, took part in the interesting service. A large party of friends afterwards took tea together. In the evening a public meeting was held, at which Mr. W. Johnson, of Bicester, presided. Addresses were delivered by the above ministers, and also by the Revs. H. Baker and W. Selbie, and Mr. J. Jones. The meetings were of a most cheering character.

TESTIMONIAL TO ROBERT GAMMAN, ESQ., OF BETHNAL-GREEN.—On Thursday, April the 28th, a meeting was held at Jubilee Chapel, Mile-end, consisting of a numerous company of members of the church worshipping at Wycliffe Chapel, London. After singing and prayer, the President, T. H. Fry, Esq., in a very appropriate speech, introduced the business of the meeting; and, on the reading of a suitable address by Mr. Smither, expressive of the sympathy of that church, the Chairman presented Mr. R. Gamman with an elegant copy of the Bible, and a handsome or molu timepiece, value £50. The inscription was as follows:—

Presented to Robert Gamman, Esq., by his friends, members of Wycliffe Congregational church, on his withdrawal from office as deacon, as a token of their sincere attachment to himself, a Christian brother greatly beloved, their high estimate of his upright and honourable character, and their grateful appreciation of twenty-three years' faithful and devoted service.—April, 1853.

Mr. R. Gamman acknowledged the testimonial by a speech in which himself and the meeting were much affected. A resolution of thanks was then tendered to Mr. A. Langford for the manner in which he had furthered the object of that meeting. On a vote of thanks to the Chairman, the meeting closed by singing and the Benediction.

WRITING IN POSTED NEWSPAPERS.—In consequence of the frequent practice of writing in newspapers addressed to America, the Postmaster-General has instructed the deputy postmasters, throughout the kingdom, to use every endeavour to detect such writing, and has ordered that all newspapers addressed to America, which are discovered to contain any other writing than the addresses of parties for whom such newspapers are intended, are to be charged treble letter postage.

A JEWISH CHURCHWARDEN.—Mr. Henry Levy Keeling, of the firm of Keeling and Hunt, of Monument-yard, and a Jew, has been unanimously elected churchwarden of St. George's, Botolph-lane.

Anniversary Meetings.

VOLUNTARY SCHOOL ASSOCIATION.

The fifth annual meeting of this association was held yesterday evening week, at Freemasons' Hall; S. M. Peto, Esq., in the chair.

The Chairman, in opening the proceedings, said, that there was a time, he was not ashamed to avow, when he did not entertain the opinions upon the subject of education which he now held [hear, hear]. At one period, he certainly had doubts upon the matter; but a close investigation of the subject, careful reading, and observation, had removed every doubt from his mind, and he was now fully convinced, that the only education which could be beneficial to any country was that which emanates from, and is entirely supported by, the people themselves [cheers]. But if, after due investigation, he had still entertained any doubts on this matter, the evidence which had been given before the committee on the Manchester and Salford Education Bill would have removed it [hear, hear]. He could not believe that, if Lord John Russell had had the facts supplied by the Census before him prior to the framing of his bill, he could ever have brought it forward at all, because he could not doubt that his lordship had in view in this, as in everything, the real benefit of the people [hear, hear]. If any one doubted the efficiency of the Voluntary principle in this matter of education, they need only examine the facts which Lord John himself stated to the House on the introduction of his measure [hear, hear]. Mr. Peto described at some length the provisions of the Government Education Bill. Looking at the matter in all its bearings, he did not think that there had been, for generations, a measure proposed for the acceptance of the people of this country more calculated to diminish their liberties and general welfare; perhaps not since the ship-money which Hampden so valiantly opposed and defeated [hear, hear]. He believed, that the reasons and facts which could be brought against the bill were perfectly plain and unanswerable, and such as, if fairly put before the people, could not fail to produce a general and hearty response [cheers]. He regarded the bill as fraught with the greatest amount of danger to the independence of the people of England, for, by it, a very large amount of irresponsible power would be placed in the Privy Council.

Mr. Allport, the Secretary, then came forward and read the Report of the committee.

It commenced with a general review of the various phases which the education question, so far as it related to the Government and the Privy Council, had assumed during the past year, and then went on to treat, at some length, of the present position of the subject. The plan of education proposed by the present Ministry, it was suggested, "involves the carrying out of two important measures. The first, though open to very grave objections, has been generally overlooked by the Voluntary Educationists in their opposition to the second. A bill is to be introduced into the upper House, the object of which is to vest in the Committee of Council, in addition to certain other powers, the power to superintend suits in law and equity for the recovery and administration of a large sum of money arising out of educational endowments, and amounting in the whole to £312,000 annually" [hear, hear]. But in addition to these general powers, the Report stated, "the Committee of Council are to propose schemes for varying the trusts in respect to these charities, or, in other words, for diverting them from their original intention, and applying them, at their sole and uncontrolled dictation, according to the tenor of the present educational grant." It was further stated, that the large sum referred to was to be applied "to provide for the necessities of our rural districts only," while the towns were to be placed under a system of local rating, while the Committee of Privy Council were still to be, "in all cases, the arbiters of what constitutes a religious education." It was shown, however, that the Council seem to be guided by no principle in the matter, and regarded all systems, bad and good, to be of equal merit. The Report set forth, moreover, the thorough soundness of the Voluntary principle, and stated that 86 per cent. of the money raised annually for educational purposes is actually the produce of spontaneous voluntary effort. The Report next referred to the endeavours which had been made by the Voluntary School Association itself to extend the principles upon which it is based, consisting of pamphlets, lectures, public meetings, and a private conference. An attempt has also been made to obtain sermons and congregational collections in aid of the society, which has been in part successful. The male Normal School contains nine pupils, and the same number during the year have completed their term. In the female Normal School there are seven pupils; twelve were admitted during the year, but so numerous and important have been the demands for teachers, that some of the pupils left to supply vacancies before their term had expired. Grants of £65 have been made to necessitous schools in rural districts. It was strongly urged as being most desirable, that the friends of the Association shall make renewed efforts for the augmentation of its funds, in order that these poor schools might be more effectually relieved, and the Normal schools enlarged and rendered more efficient. The amount of subscriptions and donations have increased; while the expenses of the Normal schools have been reduced. On the whole, the association seemed to be in a thriving state, and to be steadily advancing in all its departments of action.

From the balance-sheet it appeared, that there was in the hands of the treasurer, on account of the general fund, £269 17s. 11d.; and on the special fund, £392 6s. 2d.: total, £662 4s. 1d.

Mr. George Bayley moved the first resolution:—

That the Report now read be adopted, printed, and circulated, under the direction of the committee; and that the gentlemen and ladies whose names have been read by the secretary be the officers of the society for the year ensuing, with power to add to their number.

He contended that it was altogether beyond the province of the State to interfere with the work of popular education, and that, wherever this practice had

been adopted, it had always been attended with the most disastrous results.

The Rev. W. Brock hoped that the same able statement made by their chairman on the Government Education Bill would be made in the House of Commons. He spoke at some length, and with much spirit, on State education. Depend upon it, all that was necessary to make the Voluntary system meet the educational wants of the people was simply, that it be fairly and honestly worked [hear, hear]. Very frequently, the statistics of crime were adduced in support of Government education. Lord John Russell himself brought forward that argument; yet the bill he proposed for the adoption of the country would not touch that class on whose behalf he appealed. He hoped it would be strongly and determinedly opposed.

The Rev. John Burnet, who was loudly cheered, moved the second resolution:—

That, in the opinion of this meeting, the plan of education proposed by Lord John Russell, on the 4th of April last, is more objectionable than that at present in operation, inasmuch as it not only continues to vest in the Committee of Council the responsibility of providing a religious education for the people, but also embodies the Manchester and Salford Scheme,—a measure at once injudicious and premature, as the evidence taken upon that subject during the last Session was, in the judgment of this meeting, decidedly unfavourable, and as a committee is still sitting on another branch of the same inquiry.

The Rev. David Thomas seconded the resolution.

A young man, named Smith, then addressed the meeting, attempting to make out a case for Government interference, and quoted some Manchester statistics to prove the connexion between crime and ignorance. The Chairman remarked, with reference to the statistics quoted by Mr. Smith, that in Sweden, where any person, both male and female, before ever the marriage ceremony was allowed to take place, must be able to read and write, every third person was illegitimate, and one in every thirteen had been in the common gaol [hear, hear].

G. W. Alexander, Esq., having taken the chair (Mr. Peto being obliged to leave), called upon

Mr. Carvell Williams to move the third resolution:—

This meeting, believing that all education should be really Christian, and that the State is utterly incompetent to impart such an education to the people, regrets the inability of the Voluntary School Association to aid more extensively those efforts which are based upon this principle, and records its determination to use such means as in its judgment may tend to augment the resources, and increase the usefulness of this society.

There might be many objections urged to the bill of Lord John Russell, which had very naturally formed the principal topic of discussion on the present occasion; but, to his own mind, one of the strongest was the very great increase of Governmental influence which must necessarily be the result [hear, hear]. Already there were some 5,000 schools, with their 500,000 scholars, under the control of the Government, and inspectors had already largely multiplied; and, of course, if the present bill should come into operation, this Government influence over the mind of the youth of the country would be largely augmented [hear, hear]. Surely this was a fact which, altogether apart from the views which they might hold on the question of State education, ought to be seriously pondered by the people before the bill was allowed to become law [hear, hear].

The Rev. G. Rogers seconded the resolution, which was unanimously adopted.

Apsley Pellatt, Esq., M.P., who arrived just as the proceedings were terminating, added a few words in support of the principles of the association.

The Chairman said that it was the intention of the committee to devote the balance of the special fund, nearly £400, to the establishment of a Normal School in the island of Jamaica.

CHRISTIAN INSTRUCTION SOCIETY.

The twenty-eighth annual meeting of this society was held at the Weigh-house chapel, Fish-street-hill, on Tuesday, the 3rd inst., when the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor took the chair at six o'clock. Notwithstanding the unfavourable state of the weather, the attendance was numerous, and the proceedings were highly interesting.

The Chairman, in a few opening observations, called upon the Rev. Robert Ashton, the secretary, to read the Report, of which the following is an abstract:—

The Christian Instruction Society is no novelty. Formed twenty-eight years since, for the purpose of diffusing Christian knowledge among the less instructed classes of the London population, it has pursued its humble course with varying degrees of popularity and success. The society is very plastic in its character. It accommodates itself to all circumstances and exigencies. The objects of its solicitude are chiefly, though not exclusively, Londoners. The districts occupied by the Association lie scattered among the metropolitan cities and boroughs, and some few outlying parishes in their vicinities. The number reported for the present year is 91, while the visitors amount to 1,877—a number somewhat less than in former years, owing to the fact, that some of the districts have been surrendered to other agencies, while others prefer to act alone. Still the range of operation is considerable, and the disinterested and voluntary agents of this institution form a valuable and efficient body of Christian workers in the metropolitan field. They distribute themselves among 46,804 families visiting them with regularity, and disseminating among them kind words, Christian truths, good books, and substantial charities; directing them in perplexity, soothing them in affliction, or comforting them in their dying hours. One million visits, at least, are paid by our friends during the year. The following table will show some results of the society's operations:—

| | |
|--|-------|
| Children sent to Sabbath and Day-schools | 1,184 |
| Copies of Scriptures circulated and sold | 453 |
| Cases of distress relieved | 1,245 |
| Persons induced to attend public worship | 848 |

Over all the districts good is communicated, and cases of conversion, without any reportable peculiarities, are continually occurring. Others are doubtless taking place,

which never come under the notice of the visitors, but are known and registered in heaven. Several instances have occurred of Roman Catholic families, once hostile to the views of the Protestant friends, who have yielded to persuasion, and accepted the books, and read their contents. With respect to the more public labours of the society, the committee can report only proceedings and general results. Thousands on thousands of tracts have been distributed at fairs, lectures, and in various parts of the metropolis. In this work they have been greatly assisted by the generous grants of the Tract Society. In the open-air and tent-preaching department, the committee have not been able to do as much as in some previous years. The stations usually occupied by the tents at Bonner's-fields and Kennington-common were obliged to be given up, in consequence of the interdiction of the late Commissioner of Woods and Forests. This was done, as was alleged, at Bonner's-fields, in consequence of the remonstrance of the inhabitants against the proceedings of certain infidel and atheistic parties who were in the habit of meeting there for debate on Sundays; and at Kennington-common really for the same reason, but ostensibly because the ground was about to be laid out for a park. Appeals were made to Lord John Manners, but in vain. It should be known that there is a general order, that no meetings for public speaking, or debates of any kind, are to be allowed in any of the royal parks or grounds. Both Bonner's-fields and Kennington-common being royal property, the order was, consequently, applicable to both these stations. A quiet open-air service on Kennington-common was held, however, occasionally during the summer, by some kind lay friends, in connexion chiefly with Surrey Chapel. The tent was conveyed over various parts of West Middlesex during six weeks, but the interest and attendance were not equal to those of former years. Even in some spots where, in the previous summer, large and deeply-interested audiences were collected, only small congregations could be obtained. In this work the committee were assisted by the West Middlesex Association, who contributed £15 towards the expenses. The winter operations of the committee commenced in November, and were preceded by nine meetings in different chapels for special prayer on behalf of the society. Thirty lectures to the working classes in different localities were delivered during the season. The attendance was most gratifying. The audiences evidently appreciated the disinterested services of the lecturers, and cordially responded to the sentiments they advanced. The experiment was made a few times with discussions after the lecture; but, as a general rule, it does not appear desirable. The committee felt deep interest in the discussion proposed between the Rev. Brewin Grant and Mr. Holyoake, a few weeks since; and although it was conducted altogether independently of this society, yet they yielded cheerfully to the wish that their secretary should render such assistance as might appear to be necessary. In connexion with a united committee, he arranged for, and attended, all the meetings. One beneficial result has followed, in calling out the effective services of the Rev. J. Howard Hinton on the side of Christianity against Secularism. The lecture he delivered at Cowper-street was a masterly summary of the whole debate; he delivered, also, four lectures at his own chapel to working-men, on some of the most prominent topics involved in this controversy. He has since published the discourses under the title of "Secular Tracts," which may be obtained separately or together, and a more valuable antidote to modern infidelity can scarcely be furnished. It would be injustice not to notice the valuable service Mr. Grant has rendered, and still continues to render, to Christianity, not only by his lectures, both in London and in the provinces, but also by his numerous and important publications. The committee indulge the hope, that Mr. Grant's mission to the working classes may prove eminently servicable in exploding the fallacies of Secularism, and in extending the cause of truth, freedom, and happiness. The committee report, with extreme satisfaction, that thirty-eight ministerial friends kindly and promptly consented to deliver discourses on the "Secular Aspects of Christianity," in their respective chapels, in different parts of the metropolis, on the last Sabbath evening in February. Other discourses were delivered subsequently in chapels where local circumstances prevented concurrence in the simultaneous movement; and, in some instances, courses of lectures to operatives were commenced, and have been continued. The attention of the committee has been again and again directed to the best means of reaching the operative classes generally. Special services in public buildings have been thought desirable, but nothing definite has been resolved on. The committee cannot close the Report without again directing the attention of all their friends to the spiritual condition of the metropolis. Signs are not wanting of a retrograde tendency.

The treasurer's account was then submitted, from which it appeared that the receipts of the past year had amounted to £592 0s. 9d.; the expenditure to £534 6s.; leaving a balance of £57 14s. 9d. in the hands of the treasurer.

The Chairman, in the course of an impressive speech, spoke as follows:—

He believed if London, in its degradation, its crime, and its misery, were ever to be elevated, it must be done by the individual efforts of the members of Christian churches [hear]. It was impossible to look at evils so appalling, and not to come to this conclusion. Look at the prospect of one hospital taking 70,000 and another 50,000 patients in one year; and if they were asked the question, the half of those patients would reply, that their own crime and sin had brought them to their pitiable condition. If an appeal be made to the gaols, and to the wretched culprits who were confined there it would be found that they were but branches of one large family—that they all belonged to one class, each member of which—father, mother, brother, sister, cousin—was growing up in a state of crime, defying the common law of the land, and outraging all the common decencies of life and of society [hear]. So that looking to all the sources of crime—sources that were generating wickedness, and producing its like throughout this metropolis—they would find London full of evil, strong and mighty, and most influential, and the mind would become appalled at so overwhelming a sight of misery, and suffering, and degradation [hear, hear]. Where was this to end? would it not submerge all our laws and all our institutions?—would not our chapels and prayer-meetings, and Bible societies, be all overdone, by those moral evils which seemed to be gathering like a dark cloud to cover the whole horizon? What was the help for it? One

single passage of Scripture, in this matter, afforded him hope; a time was coming when it would not be necessary for a man to say to his neighbour, "Know the Lord." A time was approaching when the promises of God would be revealed, and when the day-spring from on high should visit the churches of the metropolis; and then would the light of heaven shine upon the earth, and diffuse its happiness [hear, hear, and cheers]. The facts stated in the Report would, he thought, be most startling; but had a proper attention been given to the subject, they would not create so much astonishment, seeing that, in the lanes and courts of the metropolis, they could be multiplied again and again [hear]. He deemed the present a special occasion for increased effort on the part of the church of God [hear, hear]. Civil institutions and police arrangements might, in a measure, prevent the commission of crime; but, as Christians, they were called upon, by the most sacred obligations under which they lay, to feel his or her individual responsibility in this matter, and to exert themselves for God, and for the good of their fellow-citizens [applause]. He had lately been made personally acquainted with scenes and circumstances in connexion with the lower grades of society in the metropolis which would have disgraced Tahiti [cries of "Hear, hear"].

Mr. Alderman Wire moved—

That the Report be adopted and printed; and while devout thanksgivings are due to Almighty God for his goodness to the society, grateful acknowledgments should also be made of the kind and efficient services of the secretaries and visitors of the associations, as well as of all other friends who have lent their valuable assistance during the past year.

Mr. Wire commented at some length upon the Report, with a view to show the usefulness of the society. He said he scarcely knew of a society that accomplished so much, and at so little cost; and, if it had only done this one thing—if it had only taught that Christianity presented a field on which the efforts of laymen, combined with the visitations of pastors, was truly acceptable to God—if it had only drawn out for laymen a field of labour in which they might engage in visitation—it would have done a great thing, and would have wrought a marvellous change in the spirit of such visitations. Sectarianism did not exist in their society—it was founded upon pure Christianity alone [cheers].

The Rev. Thomas Davies seconded the resolution, which was supported ably by the Rev. James Sherman.

The following resolution was then proposed by the Rev. Dr. Massie, and seconded by the Rev. J. D. Smith, of Dublin:—

That, as practical impiety prevails so extensively in the metropolis, the zealous co-operation and labours of the friends of the society are still required; this meeting therefore requests the following gentlemen [names read] to act as the committee, and the secretaries and visitors of the associations to continue their kind services during the coming year.

The following resolution was also moved by the Rev. R. Ashton, and seconded by the Rev. Dr. Massie:—

That, as the moral reformation of London cannot be effected without divine co-operation with human exertions, it is incumbent on the society to pray that the Spirit of the living God may descend on all the officers and visitors of the association, and on all the agents of the institution, in their attempts to enlighten and persuade their fellow-citizens and neighbours.

A vote of thanks having been passed to the Lord Mayor, for his kindness in presiding, the meeting separated.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY.

The forty-ninth annual meeting of this society was held on Wednesday last, in Exeter Hall; the Earl of Shaftesbury, President of the society, in the chair. The large hall was crammed in every part. Among the gentlemen upon the platform were, the Marquis of Cholmondeley, Lord Glenelg, the Bishops of Winchester and Cashel, Sir R. H. Inglis, Sir T. D. Acland, Sir E. N. Buxton, Charles Hindley, Esq., M.P., Bishop M'Ilvaine (a deputation from the American Bible Society), the Rev. Professor Stowe, Rev. Dr. Vermilye, Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noel, Hon. and Rev. H. M. Villiers, Rev. Dr. Marsh, Rev. T. Binney, Rev. Dr. Bunting, and a larger number of clergymen and ministers than have assembled on the society's platform during the fifty years of its existence.

After a brief address from the Chairman,

The Rev. Mr. Phillips, Jubilee Secretary, read the Report, of which the following is an abstract:—

There had been issued from the depot at Paris, during the year, 92,765 copies of the Scriptures—a very gratifying result, when the difficulties under which that agency laboured were considered. The total issue from the Paris depot amounted in all to 3,000,000 copies. From Brussels there had been issued, during the year, 7,306; from Holland, 21,330; and from Cologne, 64,481; and, since Mr. Teddie's agency, the issue from these three places amounted, in all, to 796,503 copies. Dr. Pinkerton had issued 45,829 copies—showing a small decrease, which might be attributed to several causes. The total issue from Frankfurt had been 1,275,709 copies. The demands of the Austrian Government for the removal from its territories of the German and Hungarian copies of the Scriptures, had been strictly enforced, and 329 bales and cases, containing 58,087 copies, had been transported beyond the frontier, under a military escort. During his residence in Austria, Mr. Millard had distributed 41,000 copies of the Scriptures; and since he had commenced at Breslau, he had distributed 5,171. Lieutenant Gradon, in his operations in Italy since 1848, had distributed copies as follows:—Lombardy, 15,000, and Piedmont 12,000. In Switzerland the issue had been 8,000—the total issue now being 60,000. Measures for the diffusion of the gospel through the north of Italy were progressing successfully. Mr. Ellsmere, of Berlin, had received an additional supply of 8,130 copies, making to the present time, a total of 860,000 copies furnished to the Prussian army. In Stockholm, the issue of the year had been 39,420, giving a total of 574,596. The several agencies in Norway also continued their useful labours. In St. Petersburg, the issue had been 21,330, and 20,000 copies of the New Testament and the Psalms for that city were being printed. Copies had been circulated in the Crimea and Georgia, to the confines of Persia. Malta and Smyrna had received 17,209 copies, and 14 or 15

Evangelical churches had been formed among the Armenians. Copies were in course of preparation in the Turkish, Armenian, and Bulgarian languages. In Bengal, 55,000 copies had been circulated, showing an increase of 15,000, and the committee had contributed £1,544 15s. 7d. towards the extension of the system in Madras. In China, the society had made grants for the printing of 18,000 copies of the revised New Testament, and they had granted to the London Missionary Society 15,000 copies of the revised Old Testament. From Australia and Van Diemen's Land, a remittance of £1,682 19s. 5d. had been received, and large supplies of the Scriptures had been forwarded. The committee contemplated an extension of the colporteur system in these regions, to meet the extraordinary changes of society which were taking place there. For New Zealand, 5,000 copies of the Pentateuch and Joshua had been printed during the year, and placed at the disposal of the Church Missionary Society. There were now 7,000 Tahitian and 5,000 Raratongian Bibles and Testaments in the press. At the Navigator Islands, twenty tons of coconut oil had been placed on board the Missionary ship, in part payment of the supply formerly sent there. A large number of Feejee Testaments were now passing through the press. The auxiliary societies in South Africa were progressing, and Mr. Moffatt was proceeding in the translation and printing of the Old Testament. The Scriptures were now circulated in several languages on the western coast of Africa, and 2,500 copies of the Book of Genesis had been placed at the disposal of the Church Missionary Society. In the Island of Madagascar, there had been circulated a large additional stock of the Scriptures, and the committee were preparing to print 5,000 copies of the entire Bible, in the language of the island, as soon as the revision was complete. The West Indies were unfortunately left without agents, and were dependent on the exertions of local friends of the society. The American Bible Society reported a large increase of its circulation and its funds. The Auxiliary Society of British North America remitted £2,812 3s. 2d., and had received 45,311 copies. The Report having adverted to the death of several friends during the year, proceeded to state the condition of the funds.

The receipts of the year ending March 31, 1853, exclusive of the Jubilee Fund, amount to £109,160 10s. 8d., being an increase of £711 9s. 10d. on those of last year. The receipts applicable to the general purposes of the society have amounted to £54,587 11s. 6d., including £36,523 15s. 11d.—free contributions from auxiliary societies, being an increase of £2,422 16s. 11d. on this item. The amount received for Bibles and Testaments is £55,572 19s. 2d., being an increase of £2,807 6s. 5d.

The issues of the society for the year are as follows:—

| | | |
|-----------------------------|---------|------------|
| From the depot at home..... | 840,552 | 1,168,794, |
| From depots abroad..... | 228,243 | |

being an increase of 14,152 over those of last year.

The total issues of the society now amount to 26,571,103 copies. The expenditure during the past year has amounted to £95,980 9s. 10d. The society is under engagements to the extent of £55,289 3s. 10d. The Jubilee Fund on this day exceeds £17,000.

The Secretary stated that he had that morning received from an anonymous donor a cheque for £1,000.

The Marquis of Cholmondeley moved the adoption of the Report, which was seconded by

The Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noel, who, in the course of an eloquent speech, said:—

Why is it that other nations are struggling to maintain elementary principles of liberty and national prosperity, while ours has been abundantly secured, and we have leisure to improve our institutions and develop resources? We are spreading our influence over the whole world—we are at peace with one another—we are at peace at home—law strong, and liberty reigning—and just because the Bible has taught us our duty as Christians and as citizens [hear, hear, and cheers]. Is it too much to ask that we give to the society, during its jubilee year, £150,000 as an offering? [loud cheers.] The Baptist Missionary Society, in its jubilee year, obtained three times the amount of its ordinary income; and is it too much to ask that this society should receive the same? [hear, hear.] The Wesleyan Missionary Society, in its centenary movement, received £200,000; and why should not this society, embracing all Christian men of every denomination, not present an equal offering to the Giver of all good?

The Right Rev. Bishop M'Ilvaine next addressed the meeting. He said he was there not as one of the Deputation of the United States in the same way that the American Bible Society had been hitherto represented at the anniversary of the British and Foreign Bible Society. The occasion of their jubilee was exceedingly peculiar, and the American Bible Society felt that it was bound to appoint a delegation peculiar also, and not merely to say to certain persons who intended to visit England, "Because you are going at this time, appear for us at the Anniversary of the Bible Society;" but they said, "Because the jubilee of the Bible Society is this year, therefore, go specially for that object" [applause]. He came 950 miles from his home to New York especially and entirely to sail to England, for the purpose of attending the meeting that day. He came to England, not for other things mainly, but mainly and entirely for this, inasmuch that but for this he should at the present day have been, under God's providence, at his own home [cheers]. And he begged the society to understand, that his imagination could not picture any honour that could be conferred upon him by Church or State that he should value so much as that of being deputed by the American Bible Society to represent it on this blessed jubilee occasion. If there was anything that drew his whole heart to the work of this institution, it was that it so breaks down the middle wall of partition; so took down from their eyes the false glasses through which they have looked at each other; that they were drawn nearer and nearer together, and regarded each other as otherwise they would not do [cheers]. I came, then, from across the waters, to hail all that loved the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity [applause].

The Rev. Hugh M'Neil, of Liverpool, supported the resolution, in a brief address on the essential unity of all Christian men, to whatever section of the Church they might happen to belong. He contended, that the Bible was the great uniter of men as well as

their great emancipator [cheers]—the emancipator from the bondage of sin as well as servitude [hear, hear].

The Bishop of Cashel had always conceived that this Society had the first claim upon every person who desired to do good in his generation. After an extended reference to the progress of Protestantism in Ireland, and the influence which the Bible had exercised so as to bring about this very pleasing result, his lordship concluded by moving the resolution:—

That this meeting has heard, with feelings of deep and grateful joy, of the wide-spread interest which has manifested itself in connexion with the society's jubilee, and would earnestly invoke the blessing of Almighty God on the efforts made to awaken at this time a greater attention to the important claims of the institution to multiply its resources, and thereby to extend its usefulness both at home and abroad.

Dr. Vermilye, one of the American deputation, seconded it, and went into a general statement of the extent and mode of the operations carried on by the American Society, which originated in 1816, just at the close of the war with Great Britain. God grant that that might be the last war which should ever be waged between the two countries [loud cheers]. He stated, that the income of the institution during the last year was £78,000, being an increase of £8,500 over the receipts of the former year.

The Rev. Thomas Binney moved a vote of thanks to the president and other officers of the Society. We have only room for a single extract from Mr. Binney's speech on the statement that the Christianity of the day was faith in a book:—

Yes, there was belief in the book, but only because it was a revealer of the spiritual truth. Catholicism put a visible head of the Church between Christ and the Church; the book not only removed it, but interposed nothing in its place, not even itself, or only as the light of heaven interposed between humanity and all visible nature [cheers]. "How do you know there is any Christ, Tom? You never saw the Lord?" This is "Uncle Tom," you know, from which I am reading [loud cheers]. You need not point there, but listen to me. Mrs. Stowe is not there now; she has been here, but is gone [cheers]. But talking of Mrs. Stowe and her book reminded him of a circumstance which was related a short while ago. A colporteur in France was carrying his Bibles round to the people, and asking them to purchase, was interrogated by some of them thus: "Is it Uncle Tom's Bible that you have to sell? if it is, we'll have it" [loud cheers]. This book, therefore, had served, and was serving, the cause of the Bible Society [cheers]. "How do you know there is any Christ, Tom?" "Feel him in my soul, massa; feel him now" [cheers]. That's it; that's Christianity, the living realization in the soul from the living heart of our living Lord. "Poor, foolish boy!" said St. Clare, half-raising himself. "I'm not worthy the love of one good, honest heart, like yours." "O mas'r, dere's more than me loves you—the blessed Lord Jesus loves you." "How do you know that, Tom?" said St. Clare. "Feels it in my soul. O mas'r! the love of Christ, that passeth knowledge." "Singular," said St. Clare, turning away, "that the story of a man that lived and died eighteen hundred years ago can affect people so yet. But he was no man," he added suddenly. "No man ever had such long and living power! Oh, that I could believe what my mother taught me, and pray as I did when I was a boy!" That is what we all want—the child's heart within the man's. Rough contact with the world is very apt to rub off the bloom of early and holy feelings; but what a blessed thing it is when the Spirit of God gives us the child's heart within the man's, and we can remember the prayers which our mothers taught us [cheers]. I should not like to say anything offensive, as I am sure I shall not, to the two American brethren who have addressed this meeting, when I express the conviction that their English brethren deeply sympathize with them in the statements they have made with respect to the difficulties they have to meet with in their endeavours to circulate the Scriptures in particular places. If our friend referred to legal difficulties which exist in the States, which have the effect of preventing the free circulation of the Bible to every man, black or white, we deeply regret it, and mourn over it [loud cheers]. And I am sure that the earnest cry unto God from the heart in this assembly will be, that everything which hindereth may be taken out of the way [loud cheers].

The Rev. A. Barret seconded the resolution. The Rev. Francis Close, of Cheltenham, the Rev. Dr. Caesar Malan, of Geneva, Archdeacon Hodson, and Thomas Farmer, Esq., subsequently spoke to resolutions of votes of thanks to various officials of the institution, and to the Chairman.

SUNDAY-SCHOOL UNION.

On the morning of Thursday last there was a meeting of the committee of the Union, and representatives of the County Unions, at the offices of the society, Paternoster-row. Mr. W. H. Watson presided. The first subject discussed was the approaching Jubilee of the Society. Mr. W. Gover gave a brief account of the origin of the Jubilee movement, and the causes which had led the committee to fix on such a mode as they had proposed of celebrating it. Mr. Ridley, of Newcastle; Mr. Greig, jun., of Edinburgh; the Rev. Mr. Howells, of Bicester; and Mr. Wright, of Birmingham, commented upon the proposal, and expressed their approval of it. Mr. D. Pratt then made a very interesting statement on "The moral and spiritual claims of London on the sympathies, the prayers, and the exertions of all Christians." In the course of his speech he said:—

It was estimated that there were in London about 800 edifices for public worship—heterodox, orthodox, Roman Catholic, and Protestant, all included. In 1841, it was estimated that there was seat-accommodation in those places for 600,000, and, in 1851, that it had increased only to 700,000—an amount not at all equal to the increase in the population. The population had been growing at the rate of 40,000 or 50,000 a year, while provision for public worship had only extended at the rate of 10,000—and this, too, with the altogether unparalleled efforts which had been made during that period, in

church and chapel building. The consequence was, that old and acknowledged wants had been necessarily left untouched—to say nothing of the fresh necessities which had arisen. Another and a very serious point was, that not more than two-thirds of the accommodation so provided was occupied; and, when the last census returns were published, he believed they would contain statements in reference to attendance on public worship which would startle and alarm.

On the subject of Sabbath Schools he said—

It was supposed that, in the metropolis, there were about 700, connected and unconnected, with about 13,000 teachers, and 138,000 scholars (ragged-schools and parochial schools not included, but the total number of Sunday-schools did not probably exceed 150,000). The average attendance was not more than two-thirds of this number, many of the schools being only very partially filled.

According to the "Post-office London Directory," there were in the metropolis, 2,500 bakers, 990 buttermen, 1,700 butchers, 3,000 grocers and tea-dealers, 900 dairy-keepers, 400 fishmongers, 1,300 greengrocers: making a total of 10,790; while there were 11,000 keepers of public houses. The last point he would touch upon was that of crime. In and near London there were 13 prisons for the punishment and reformation of criminals, upon which a sum of £70,000 was annually spent; while, as had been already remarked, a large number of our juvenile population were regularly and systematically trained up in guilt. The consideration then pressed upon the mind most forcibly was this,—with all its advantages, how manifestly inadequate are the means employed for the evangelization of this great metropolis! The efficiency of the pulpit was not diminished, but people would not come within the reach of its influence. The gospel, therefore, must be taken to them; there must be ragged-churches established; Sabbath-schools must be increased and made more efficient.

Mr. Pratt, in conclusion, offered a practical suggestion to the committee—namely, whether a short, stirring, pithy essay or address to Christians, on the spiritual claims of the youth of London, would not be calculated to do much lasting good. After a few words from Mr. Cuthbertson, the Rev. Dr. Kidder addressed the meeting on the state of Sunday-schools in the United States. In that country there were at least 600,000 teachers, and both teachers and children had been quipped during the last twenty years. After some further discussion, in which Mr. Stone-man and Dr. Campbell took part, the meeting, which had sat for three hours, separated.

The public meeting took place in the evening at Exeter Hall, which, as usual, was crowded in every part. The Lord Mayor occupied the chair, and delivered an able and impressive address, in the course of which he said:—

The good which has flowed, and will continue to flow, from Sunday-schools, I believe to be immense [hear hear]. Many men now occupying very high positions in society had the basis of their characters and fortunes laid in these schools [hear, hear]. For myself, I can say that I am sure I derived more real intellectual and moral benefit from being engaged as a teacher in a Sunday-school than from any other source whatever [cheers]. Only a short time ago a gentleman, a member of Parliament, distinguished by his eloquence, said to me, "You don't remember me, perhaps?" "No," I said, "I do not." "Why," he replied, "I was at one time a scholar in the Sunday-school which you superintended" [cheers].

The Report, which was read by Mr. Watson, contained a full account of the operations of the Union in Sweden, France, Malta, Madras, Australia, and other parts of the world; some of them of a very encouraging character. Under the head "Home Proceedings" the Committee lament the loss of Mr. W. F. Lloyd, one of their most energetic friends. 224 libraries have been granted during the year, making a total of 2,731. The schools thus assisted during the year contain 41,178 scholars, of whom 25,523 are Scripture-readers. The sales for the year ending the 31st December, 1852, amounted to £10,745 0s. 10d.; being £664 13s. 9d. more than for 1851—the sales for the last-named year being £10,080 7s. 1d. After referring in detail to their various publications, they say that the census returns not being yet issued, they are unable to present complete statistics. "They are therefore only able to state, that the endeavours made three years since to obtain the particulars, led them to the conclusion that there were, within a circle of five miles from the General Post-office, 681 schools, containing 13,220 teachers, and 138,891 scholars, with an average attendance of 97,241, or little more than two-thirds." They then detail the steps taken to oppose the opening of the Crystal Palace on Sunday, and for celebrating the Jubilee of the Society, and the raising of the £10,000 fund. The committee suggest that aggregate meetings of scholars should be held in the afternoon of Sunday, July the 10th, when addresses should be delivered suited to the occasion; that on the same day sermons should be preached, and collections made, in all places of public worship with which the schools of the Union are connected; that in the evening of Tuesday, the 12th of July, a sermon should be preached to the members of the Union; that on the morning of Wednesday, the 13th of July, there should be a public breakfast, after which two or three hours should be occupied in devotional exercises and addresses; and in the evening of the same day the commemoration of the Jubilee year should be brought to a conclusion by one or more public meetings. The Rev. W. W. Robinson, Incumbent of Christ Church, Chelsea, Rev. Dr. Archer, the Rev. Dr. Beaumont, Rev. J. D. Smith, of Kingstown, and Rev. J. Adey, were the principal speakers, but we regret that we are utterly unable to report their addresses. Dr. Archer, in proof of the catholicity of the Union, adverted to the fact that a Congregationalist occupied the chair, a Baptist read the Report, a clergyman proposed, and a Presbyterian seconded the first resolution, and was followed by a Wesleyan.

RELIGIOUS TRACT SOCIETY.

The fifty-fourth annual meeting of this institution was held at Exeter Hall, on Friday, the 6th instant. The chair was taken at six o'clock, by the Hon. Arthur Kinnaird.

The Chairman, in the course of his opening address, said, that the publications of the society had greatly increased. They amounted to as many as 112 in different languages and dialects [cheers]. The circulation of books and tracts during the past year had reached 27,000,000 [cheers]—and that fact alone, with a moment's reflection, would, he was sure, be a source of great satisfaction in the present day. He stated that a useful tract, containing a statement of the whole case of the Madiai, was published by the society, and 160,000 circulated.

The Rev. J. P. Saffery read an abstract of the Report:—

It gave a brief sketch of the society's operations during the year, in the printing and circulation of religious publications in various parts of the world: France, Spain, Sweden, Denmark, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, Greece, Russia, India, Burmah, China, Polynesia, New Zealand, Australia, Africa, Madagascar, British North America, and the West Indies. In noticing the home proceedings, attention was directed to the new periodicals "The Leisure Hour," as designed to give a higher tone to our popular literature, the circulation of tracts opposing the opening of the new Crystal Palace at Sydenham, those exposing the policy of the Church of Rome in the persecution of the Madiai, and those issued with a view of improving the occasion of the funeral of the late Duke of Wellington. Special mention was made of the efforts on behalf of our emigrant population. The Report proceeded to give a gratifying account of the state of the funds. The total benevolent income has been £9,497 12s. 10d., being an increase on the preceding year of £1,859. The grants of money, paper, and publications, have amounted to £12,134 5s. 8d., being £3,067 beyond the benevolent income. The sales for the year have been £58,473 8s. 1d., being an increase of £8,136 8s. 4d. The total receipts amounted to £77,690 11s. 2d. The libraries granted were 854, for Sunday and other schools, union-houses, and destitute districts, exclusive of books to ministers and schoolmasters, at reduced prices. The new publications issued amounted to 171. The circulation, during the year, was 26,851,851, being an increase of 3,805,104. In conclusion, the committee commended the society to the earnest prayers, sympathies, and cordial support of the meeting.

The Revs. Mr. Hussey, Norman McLeod, Dr. Duff, S. Garratt, Dr. Vermilye, of the American Tract Society, D. B. Heather, and R. S. Cook, corresponding secretary of the American Tract Society were among the speakers. The latter stated that the contributions to the American Society last year amounted to upwards of £30,000. The system of colportage was very extensively employed, as many as 2,000 men having been employed in this capacity during the last twelve years. The resolutions bespoke support for the society for the maintenance of the great Protestant doctrines of the Reformation, and to counteract the pernicious influence of the sceptical and licentious press, for extending the Gospel in India, Burmah, and Madagascar, and for distributing tracts amongst emigrants leaving Great Britain and Ireland, having already thus distributed 733,000; rejoiced that extended efforts have been made on the Continent of Europe, particularly in France and Germany, to diffuse the society's works; and trusted, that the committee would be able to secure increased and hearty co-operation in their future labours from all sections of the Foreign Protestant Church. The Rev. Dr. Malan was amongst the visitors.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN SCHOOL SOCIETY

The annual meeting of this society was held on Monday, in the Borough-road School-room. It was preceded, as usual, by an examination of the scholars in various branches of religious and secular education. Among the visitors at the examination were Lord J. Russell, who delivered a brief address at its close, and Mrs. H. B. Stowe, who, on being introduced by the Rev. T. Binney as "The Mother of Uncle Tom," was received with rapturous applause by the children. At the meeting the chair was occupied by Lord John Russell.

Mr. Dunn, the secretary, read the 48th annual Report, which, after adverting to the promising condition of elementary education in England, furnished a rapid sketch of the society's proceedings during the year.

The boys' model school had admitted 842 children, and the girls' school 430. Twenty-seven pupil teachers had been apprenticed by the Committee of Council. Important alterations had been made during the year, at a cost of £1,068 3s. 8d., towards which the Committee of Council gave £500. 160 students had been admitted into the Normal School for Young Men, and 143 young women into the Female Training Establishment; 60 had been examined for certificates of merit, and 140 teachers had been appointed to schools. During the year 54 new schools had been established, affording accommodation for 7,000 children; 295 towns had been visited by agents for school inspection; 97 public meetings had been held, and 24 lectures delivered in different parts of the country; 124 grants in money or school materials had been made. Important efforts had also been made to promote education in the colonies and other foreign parts. The sale of school materials, at reduced prices, had increased. The receipts during the past year (including a subscription of £100 from her Majesty) amounted to £19,338 16s. 10d., and the expenditure to £18,771 11s. 8d., leaving a balance in hand of £567 5s. 7d. The society urgently appealed for increased subscriptions.

The Bishop of Manchester, in moving the adoption of the Report, expressed the pleasure he had felt in witnessing the examination, being, as it was, no got-up display, but the result of an education eminently practical and real; and the conviction he entertained of the beneficial nature of the results of the Minutes

of Council of 1846. He believed it was quite possible to carry the self-supporting system much too far; and that, in many instances, the necessity of the case could only be met by a public rate [hear, hear]. Such a rate would in no degree paralyze Voluntary efforts, but would, he thought, rather stimulate them.

Viscount Ebrington seconded the resolution, which, having been adopted, the meeting was addressed by the Rev. F. Close (of Cheltenham), the Rev. Dr. Duff, the Rev. F. Jobson, and the Rev. W. Westaby.

The Rev. Dr. Hoby proposed a vote of thanks to the Duke of Bedford, the President of the Society, and to Lord John Russell, for his conduct in the chair; which was seconded by Sir J. Kaye Shuttleworth.

Lord John Russell, in acknowledging the vote of thanks, said:—

It is impossible not to see that that which I stated a year or two ago from this place—namely, that we were getting into a position in which the question of education would soon be ripe for further measures and more extended application—is now coming happily to pass. . . . Some question has been made to-day with respect to the promotion of education, as we have always endeavoured to promote it, in connexion with religion. That was, from the commencement, the principle of this institution, and I trust it will ever continue to be [hear, hear]. At the same time, as many reflections have been thrown out against those who promote secular education, I may perhaps say, without at all being the advocate of opinions from which I differ, or a scheme from which I entirely dissent, that, in some instances, the mode in which religious education has been given has afforded some advantage to the arguments and some plausibility to the schemes of those who promote secular education [hear, hear]. . . . I think we who belong to the British and Foreign School Society have always done our best to avoid that error, and I believe that in the future education of this country it will be much more avoided than it has hitherto been [hear, hear]. I certainly can never think that in either of the schemes put forward by those who are for secular education the great purpose of education is sufficiently answered. There are those who say that half-a-day or two days of the week and the whole of the day on Sunday may be given to religious teaching and instruction; they thus, as it were, give up two days for religious instruction, which is, in fact, the education of the soul, while they leave four days of the week for that which is secular education only. I say this is a most unhappy and most unwise division; that neither in respect of time nor in respect of the subject is that an education which the future nation of England ought to receive [cheers]. I say that secular and religious education ought to be mixed together; that the instruction should be imparted to educate, as Mr. Close has wisely said, the body, the mind, and the soul together; and when this task has been accomplished, then indeed you may be proud of your work.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON ON ARBITRATION.

On Wednesday a deputation from the Peace Conference Committee of London and Manchester waited by appointment on Lord Clarendon at the Foreign Office. It consisted of the following gentlemen:—Mr. Joseph Hume, M.P., Mr. Richard Cobden, M.P., Mr. Charles Hindley, M.P., Mr. William Ewart, M.P., Mr. James Bell, M.P., Mr. Edward Baines, Leeds; Mr. William Rawson, Manchester; Mr. G. W. Alexander, London; Mr. William Edwards, London; Mr. Charles Gilpin, London; Mr. John Morland; Mr. Joseph Cooper; Mr. Frederick Tuckett; Mr. Alexander Brockway; Mr. Henry Richard, &c.

The object of the deputation was to present to his Lordship a memorial in favour of introducing into the treaties now pending between this country and the United States, a stipulation providing for the adjustment of any differences that may hereafter arise between the two countries, by referring the matter in dispute to the decision of arbitrators. The memorial stated that the subject had been brought under the attention of the American Government by gentlemen in that country interested in the question, and that both the Senate and the Executive of the States had signified their entire willingness to adopt such a stipulation, if those conducting the negotiation on the part of the British Government would concur in the measure.

Mr. Cobden, in introducing the deputation, stated that they represented the committee appointed at the Conference held in Manchester in January, to watch over and promote, in every practicable way, the cause of international peace. As they understood by what lately fell from his lordship in the House of Lords that very important treaties were now being negotiated between this country and America, they thought it a suitable time to urge the introduction into these treaties of a clause binding the contracting parties to refer their differences to arbitration.

The Earl of Clarendon replied that of course it was no secret that negotiations of an important nature were pending between the two Governments, which, if successful, would place our relations with the United States on a more reasonable and satisfactory footing. A very friendly feeling had been displayed by the American Government. On the general question he could only say that none of the gentlemen forming the deputation could feel more strongly than himself the desirableness of maintaining pacific relations; indeed, as being more responsible, he might be naturally even more anxious than they. The only question was as to the best means of preserving peace. He was not quite convinced that the insertion of the clauses proposed would have that effect. He thought that the spirit of the age, the improved feeling and good sense of mankind—of those to whom Governments are obliged to defer more than they had done—constituted a better guarantee for the preservation of peace than written engagements. Events had occurred in modern times without disturbing the peace of the world, which at any other epoch in history would have inevitably

led to war. Every day that peace was preserved rendered war more unlikely.

Mr. Hume remarked, that arbitration was already adopted in practice, and mentioned several instances within his memory in which international disputes had been settled by reference to neutral authorities. His own idea was, that the introduction of a clause to that effect into treaties would be very valuable, as showing the *animus* and disposition of the Government to preserve peace, by stipulating to do that which was now often done without such stipulation.

Lord Clarendon saw no objection to the proposal viewed in that light, but, as the question was rather a novel one, he could say no more at present than promise to give the matter his earnest consideration.

Mr. Cobden stated, that the Committee on Foreign Relations had recently presented to the American Senate a report, recommending the Congress to advise the President to secure a stipulation in favour of arbitration in all treaties hereafter entered into with foreign nations, and such being the case he hoped our own Government would not hesitate to meet the proposal in the same friendly disposition.

Lord Clarendon expressed his wish to see that document (a copy of which Mr. Cobden promised to send him), and the deputation withdrew.

MRS. H. B. STOWE AT STAFFORD-HOUSE.

On Saturday last a number of ladies and gentlemen assembled by invitation at Stafford-house for the purpose of enabling those who promoted the "Women's Address on Slavery," and others interested in the subject, to welcome Mrs. H. B. Stowe to this country, and to give expression personally to the respect and admiration which are felt for that lady. Among those present were the Duke and Duchess of Sutherland, the Duke and Duchess of Argyll, the Earl and Countess of Shaftesbury, Lord John Russell, Lord Palmerston, the Earl of Carlisle, the Right Hon. W. Gladstone, the Marquis of Lansdowne, the Archbishop of Dublin, Mrs. and Miss Whately, Lord Ebrington, Lord Glentworth, Mr. Russell Gurney, Lord Claude Hamilton, Lord Glenelg, the Dean of St. Paul's, the Rev. Dr. and Mrs. Cumming, the Bishop of Oxford, the Hon. Arthur and Mrs. Kinnaird, Dowager Countess of Carlyle, Mr. Tom Taylor, Mr. and Misses J. W. Alexander, the Earl of Harrowby, Mr. and Mrs. Cornelius Hanbury, Mr. and Mrs. Spicer, Mrs. and Miss Gurney, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Tritton, the Chevalier Bunsen, Mrs. Mary Howitt, the Rev. P. Latrobe, Mr. H. E. Gurney, Mrs. Price, Sir Robert H. Inglis, the Right Hon. H. Labouchere, Mr. Higgins, Colonel Maclean, the Right Hon. T. B. Macanlay, Mr. Monckton Milnes, Dr. and Mrs. Sutherland, Mrs. Grainger, Rev. T. Binney and Mrs. Binney, Sir E. N. Buxton, Mr. T. Fowell Buxton, the Rev. Dr. Steane, Mr. James Grant, Mr. J. Conder, Mr. and Mrs. J. Cooke Evans, Rev. J. Sherman, &c., &c.

The Duke of Sutherland having introduced Mrs. Stowe to the assembly, a short address was read and presented to her by the Earl of Shaftesbury. The Rev. Mr. Beecher (Mrs. Stowe's brother) then read a letter, recently addressed to his sister by Cassius Clay, the well-known abolitionist.

After partaking of refreshments, the ladies who were present congregated in one of the splendid salons apart, and Mrs. Stowe, who was seated between the Duchesses of Sutherland and Argyll, addressed the ladies in the following terms:—

I wanted to say a few words to the ladies of England on the subject of their address, because it appears to me that they are not all aware of the real state of feeling of the ladies of America. You must not judge of the feelings of the ladies of America by what is said in the public papers, or even by the letters that reach you purporting to be sent by the ladies in America as an answer to your address. The ladies of America cannot express their true feelings on the subject of slavery because of their husbands—because they know that it involves a great social question; great political as well as great pecuniary interests are involved in it. I may say, that millions of pounds are at stake in this question, because the slave property is worth millions of money. When you read, therefore, in the papers violent and bitter, and hard words, on the subject of the interference of England—or when you receive angry or scornful letters, purporting to come from the ladies of America, you must remember that all these are penned by a party of politicians. Nor are you ladies of England, as it appears to me, at all aware of the deep feeling of sympathy with which "Uncle Tom's Cabin" was received in America long before it was known in England. . . . The first word that ever appeared in print against "Uncle Tom's Cabin" was the article in the *Times*. But no sooner did that article reach America than it was reprinted and re-echoed in our papers; it was printed in the form of a tract, and circulated widely through the country. Indeed, I may say, that every attack on "Uncle Tom's Cabin," every defence of slavery that has since been printed in America, has been, in one way or other, grounded on that article in the *Times*. The *Times*, and many of our American papers, will tell you, that your address has done no good—that it will make no difference. But I can tell you that it has done good; and the bitterness and the anger that have been manifested against it show how great is the good that has been done by it. The politicians and party who advocate slavery would not have been so enraged if they had not felt the force of your address. I will tell you the good it has done. It has shown your sympathy with the victims of slavery. . . . Since I have been in this country, both in Scotland and England, I have visited the houses of the peer and the peasant, the high and the low, the intelligent and the rich, and I have been received with but one feeling. I have spoken to many of all classes, and have never heard an unkind word against America. The feelings of America and England are one. Some will tell you that the interest on the subject of slavery is dying away—that "Uncle Tom's Cabin" has been read by everybody, but is now forgotten; but I must tell you, that 60,000 copies of the "Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin" were sold in the first three days after it was published. I think that proves that the interest on

the subject has not died away. When people heard that I was going to publish documents proving that "Uncle Tom's Cabin" was no exaggeration, I had several letters from ladies in America, offering me authentic facts to publish. I will tell you of one lady—a friend of mine—a very lively woman. She sent me a long letter, filled with facts. She wrote to me and said, that I had her best sympathies, that she would give me money and assistance, that I might publish her letter, but that I might not publish her name. Her husband was opposed to abolition. She could not, therefore, come forward to help me. But one thing she could do. She has three sons: these sons she could bring up as Christians, and, as Christians, they would learn their duty to their fellow-creatures, and the true rights of man. And now we come to the practical question. What can now be done to forward this great work? I look first to God. God can turn the hearts of all; he may turn the hearts of men even to overlook their worldly interests, and to obey his will even in opposition to their interests. But more than this; God can, in his overruling providence, so order all things that this work, apparently so hard, can be effected, in spite of all that politicians may say to the contrary. You must, therefore, pray to him for us and with us. But man can also do something. You must go on expressing your sympathy with us in this matter. You must not fancy that you do not meet with a reciprocal feeling in America. Again, you must educate your subjects in Canada. The practical effects of good education among your own subjects would set an example to America that would not be passed by or lightly spoken of. But, also, you must try to encourage the use of free-grown cotton. That would more effectually give a blow to slavery than anything else. At present there is very little free-grown cotton used, but there might be a great deal more grown. The principal market for our slave-grown cotton is England. England purchases three-quarters of our cotton, while we only use one quarter ourselves. These are the ways in which you may aid us in this great work; remembering that, after all, the issue of it is in the hands of Him who ordereth all things. Let us trust, then, to Jesus, and look to Jesus, and he will help us in it.

Mrs. Stowe's address was listened to with the most marked attention and evident gratification. The company began to disperse soon after five o'clock, every one appearing greatly gratified with the interesting proceedings of the day. Mrs. Stowe and her friends were among the last to leave, and were accompanied to the entrance-hall by the Duchess of Sutherland, who there took leave of her guests.

THE LONDON BALLAST HEAVERS.—This large and important class of labourers are at the present moment in a state of the deepest suffering and distress, arising from the fact that they are employed under a most corrupt system of public-house agency, which is supported entirely out of their hard earnings. Their case has successively been brought before the House of Commons by Sir James Duke and Mr. G. Thompson, late M.P. for the Tower Hamlets. The Corporation of the Trinity House, the Local Marine Board, and the Board of Trade, have been petitioned on the subject. At one period the strongest hopes were entertained that a remedy would have been applied to the wrongs of which they have so long, so loudly, and so justly complained. From unforeseen circumstances, this most desirable object has not yet been accomplished. The committee of the Ballast Heavers' Association are still using the most active exertions to bring their case again before Parliament. The object sought to be accomplished is the establishment of a public office, from whence the men may be employed in preference to the present corrupt system of public-house agency—the evils resulting from which are universally deplored and condemned.

DRS. ULLATHORNE AND MOORE were released from Warwick Gaol on Wednesday last. Application to the Master of the Rolls for their discharge was made, supported by affidavits to the effect, that they had repeatedly offered to give up all the property they were possessed of, amounting to about £200. The solicitor to the official managers objected that his Honour had no jurisdiction; after some discussion, the point of jurisdiction was established; the solicitor for the official managers then applied for time to answer the affidavits. This was granted, and the application adjourned to Thursday. In the meantime, however, the solicitor of the official managers intimated that he would not persevere in his opposition. The application was renewed, and no evidence being tendered in contradiction, the immediate discharge of the bishop and Dr. Moore was ordered without costs. The bishop paid the £200, and on Wednesday, his lordship and Dr. Moore were released.—*Daily News*.

FIELD-LANE RAGGED SCHOOLS.—The eleventh annual meeting in aid of these schools was held on Wednesday evening, at the institution, West-street, Holborn, the Earl of Shaftesbury presiding. The Report stated that a day school for infants of both sexes had been opened and attended by 1,538 children. An evening school for youths and adults engaged in daily occupation had been attended by 181 persons, and a women's school, for improving character and extending domestic usefulness, had been attended by upwards of 200. Industrial schools for teaching youths tailoring, shoemaking, and other useful employments, had been employed as a test for recommending them to situations. A home for boys when first engaged in places had been provided, where they could lodge apart from contamination. A nightly refuge for the utterly destitute had been opened, in the advantages of which, 8,807 had participated; 56 youths, most of them respectably educated and brought up, had been restored to their friends; and 194 persons had been procured employment. Loaves of bread to the number of 89,284 had been distributed. Great benefit had been conferred on the almost naked by means of the clothing fund. School missionaries had been employed to supply the spiritual wants of the sick, to scour the streets and bring youthful wanderers to the school, and to rescue fallen females from the paths of sin.

RAGGED-SCHOOL UNION.—The annual meeting of this society was held on Monday evening in Exeter Hall, the Earl of Shaftesbury in the chair. After singing and prayer, the Chairman expressed the unabated interest which, he said, he felt in the cause of ragged schools, and dwelt upon some of the main features of the society's operations. The number of schools in connexion with the Union was 116; the children in the day schools numbered 8,000; in evening classes, 5,770; in Sabbath schools, 11,270; in industrial classes, 2,030. The number of paid teachers was 221, and of voluntary teachers, 1,785. He (the Chairman) believed that, but for the establishment of ragged schools, by which large numbers of the very lowest classes in society had been socially and morally elevated, London would not now be governable by the largest standing army. He trusted that the Government would adopt some extensive measures for the prevention, not for the punishment, of crime; believing that, in the absence of such measures, the country would sink under the weight of its own numerous and irreclaimable criminals. The secretary then read the Annual Report, which corroborated the statistics mentioned by the Chairman, and stated that, during the year, 24 lads had emigrated at the expense of the Union, and many more at the expense of private friends from local schools. The Shoeblack Society, in connexion with the Union, continued to prosper. The number of boys employed averaged 37; they had cleaned 182,537 pairs of boots and shoes, and earned £760 11s. 5d. Their average earnings amounted to 7s. 11d. per week. Eighteen had gone abroad, most of them having paid for their outfit from their own earnings. About £17,000 had been received for the support of Ragged schools during the year. The meeting was afterwards addressed by Mr. Payne, the Rev. Dr. Duff, the Rev. J. Branch, and other gentlemen. A vote of thanks to the Chairman terminated the proceedings.

EDUCATIONAL DISCUSSION AT THE SOCIETY OF ARTS.—The *Leeds Mercury*, of Saturday, notices a meeting held at the Society of Arts on Wednesday last, in which the question of self-supporting schools against Government-supported schools was freely debated. The discussion originated in a very instructive lecture by the Dean of Hereford (Dr. Dawes), showing how schools might be rendered self-supporting, and dwelling on the superior character of education where they were so. A speech was made by Mr. Henry Cole, secretary of the Government Department of Art, advocating self-supporting Schools of Design with the same boldness and distinctness as he did a few months since in Leeds. Other gentlemen also argued in favour of self-supporting schools. Mr. Edward Baines thought it a favourable opportunity to put his statistics relative to education before a distinguished scientific assembly: he did so in a free statement of twenty minutes, and not the slightest attempt was made to dispute them. Mr. Harry Chester, the secretary of the Committee of Council on Education, of course dissented from Mr. Baines's conclusions, but he did not hint that his facts were wrong. The Earl of Harrowby, who presided, spoke with commendation of "the independence, self-reliance, and spirit which Mr. Baines wished to cultivate in the people." He said,—"he did not quite agree with Mr. Baines, but he rejoiced to think that that was the prevailing sentiment of the country. He did not like the idea of resigning education entirely into the hands of the Government."

Postscript.

Wednesday, May 11.

ANNUAL ASSEMBLY OF THE CONGREGATIONAL UNION.

The assembly met at New Broad-street Chapel yesterday morning; the Rev. John Alexander, of Norwich, in the chair. After devotional exercises,

The Chairman delivered the usual annual address. He congratulated the Union on the instance it continued to present of an union of Independent churches on evangelical principles, without compromise of their independency; and on the influence it exerted in strengthening their mutual attachment to the great principles they professed. He then adverted more especially to the subject of the spiritual condition of the Congregational churches, taking a brief historical survey of their state from the commencement of the last century, and contrasting it with their present position and prospects. He noticed that the increase of Congregational churches during the century had been 1,382, and that not only had they increased in numbers, but in purity, zeal, and power. Controversy had contributed to render our theology more clear and distinct, while our preaching had become more evangelically persuasive. Increased social and friendly intercourse had also softened down and diminished the stiff formality of earlier times, and had cherished the spirit of sympathy and brotherhood. But it was alleged that our prosperity had declined—that admissions to churches and conversions were less frequent, and the tone of piety lowered. The information given on this subject, by persons in prominent spheres, and well qualified to judge, was well worthy of consideration—but perhaps was, to some extent, exaggerated and gloomily coloured. At any rate, the Congregational churches had not suffered the decline which marked them at the commencement of the last century; nor had the present depression lasted long, while its causes were more or less apparent. It was a declension which did not warrant hopelessness or despondency. Particular churches might have suffered, but evangelical doctrine was more preached and more popular than formerly, and the general tone of morals was improved. He admitted that conversion is the same thing always and everywhere—but it was scarcely to be looked for now, in such numerous, sudden, and surprising instances, as when society was more demoralized. We might still expect conversions sudden and startling as the lightning and the thunder, but more generally they would resemble the quiet morning light, shining more and more unto the perfect day. Yet, even while considering this, the question would return, whether conversions are now as frequent, and the state of the churches as satisfactory, as formerly. It

must be admitted that the reply was—No. The brethren he addressed would then have to confess the fact before God—to seek its causes—and to endeavour to find the appropriate remedy. He believed that the demands now made in various ways on the time, energy, and even the incomes of ministers, had left too little time for full preparation for the pulpit, for pastoral duties, and for efforts to reclaim those who will not attend on the public ministry. Let the brethren inquire, Have I taken heed to myself and to the ministry, and have I been distinguished by the prayer and study necessary to success? But other causes than ministerial had operated to produce decline. Amidst general social progress and increased political freedom, ambitious aims and party spirit had been generated, and the bloom of personal religion thereby rubbed off. The separation of Church and State, an object they all desiderated, had been advocated in a worldly spirit, and the public meetings held thereon, and the aggressive warfare used, had kept Churchmen from attending Congregational ministries, and becoming acquainted with Congregational principles. Commercial movements, too, had led to speculation, and to a consuming occupation in business unfavourable to religious progress and prosperity. A larger portion of the world had been open to our use, and we had used it too much. He believed in "a good time coming;" but he also believed in "a good time" come; and he found enough of the hopeful kind in the present to make him feel desirous that there should be no idle waiting for something better, but a diligent and faithful use of the good we already have. The churches wanted, not new machinery, but new power.

Rev. Dr. Harris moved a resolution thanking the Chairman for his address, and requesting its publication with the proceedings of the Union. He commended its large views, searching inquiries, and wise counsels, sweetly fragrant as they were with piety.

Rev. T. Scales, late of Leeds, seconded the motion, which was carried unanimously.

The Secretary (the Rev. George Smith) then introduced to the assembly the following strangers as visitors, and they were welcomed with the right hand of fellowship by the Chairman:—The Rev. D. O. Allen, American missionary from Bombay; Rev. Evan Griffiths—who had translated the whole of "Matthew Henry's Commentary" into the Welsh language; Rev. J. D. Smith, from Ireland; Rev. S. R. Ward, a negro, and minister of a Congregational church in Toronto; the Rev. C. Beecher, of New England; Rev. W. Swan, Secretary of the Scottish Congregational Union; and the Rev. Dr. Cox, of the Baptist Union.

The Rev. T. Binney moved a resolution to the effect, that this assembly hail with satisfaction the presence of esteemed brethren from the United States and other parts of the world, and assures them of its Christian regard and anxiety ever to maintain a deep interest in all that affects the spiritual prosperity of the churches and denominations to which they belong. Mr. Binney also explained that Professor Stowe, of New England, was absent through illness, but that he hoped to be present and to address the Union on the subject of American slavery, on Friday next. He hoped that Mrs. Stowe would also be present.

Rev. J. Reynolds, of Halstead, seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

The Rev. C. Beecher was received with enthusiastic cheers, and delivered a very interesting address on the Mission of Congregational Churches amongst the Anglo-Saxon race; remarking on its threefold peculiar power, as aggressive, conservative, and constructive. We regret to be unable to find room for a full report of his excellent speech.

The Report was then read by the Rev. G. Smith. Its topics were, the formation of the Congregational Chapel Building Society—the connexion of the Union with its affiliated societies—the Marriage-law (on which a bill is prepared for dissociating Dissenting marriages from the Poor-law Union and for assimilating them to those of the Established Church)—the scheme having reference to pastoral incomes throughout the denomination—the Mission to the Working Classes to which Mr. Brewin Grant had been appointed—slavery—intercourse and sympathy with foreign Christians—and the distribution of the fund created by the profits of the magazines.

The Rev. J. A. James moved, and the Rev. Dr. Morrison seconded, the adoption of the Report; which was carried.

The Rev. E. R. Conder, of Poole, moved, and the Rev. W. Hurdall, of Bishops Stortford, seconded, the nomination of the committee and officers for the ensuing year.

Dr. Massie read the Report on British Missions—further particulars of which will be found in the account of the public meetings of those societies.

The Rev. J. D. Smith, of Kingstown, moved the adoption of the Report. He bore testimony to the valuable results of the Irish Evangelical Society's labours—never more useful than now. He also gave much interesting information respecting the reformation movement in Connemara, and stated that, on the whole, it was to be regarded with approval and sympathy.

The adoption of the Report was then seconded and carried. It was then further resolved, that the autumnal meeting be held in the towns of Newcastle, Shields, and Sunderland. Also, that the Rev. Dr. Halley be Chairman of the next annual assembly.

The Rev. John Kennedy read the Report of the Congregational Board of Education; from which it appeared that the Normal Schools are in a flourishing and efficient state—that the whole expense of Homerton College (£12,000) had been defrayed—and that a balance is in the hands of the treasurer. The Report pointed out the recent mistakes made by Lord John Russell on the subject of Congregational schools. The 89 schools which he described as the total, are really those only which have received teachers from the Board: there are 520 schools to which the fund raised by Congregationalists has been applied, and that fund reached £130,000. Nearly 100,000 children are educated annually by the Congregationalists, and their schools absorb 40 to 50 new teachers annually. It was also stated, from the late census returns, that while the population has increased since 1818 only 58 per cent., the school accommodation has increased 212 per cent., thus showing the efficiency of Voluntary effort.

A resolution founded on this Report was moved by the Rev. H. R. Reynolds, of Leeds; seconded by J. Pye Smith, Esq., of Sheffield; and carried unanimously.

The subject of Lord John Russell's Education Bill was then introduced by the Rev. G. Smith; on which

Rev. J. Kelly, of Liverpool, moved a resolution to the following effect:—"That the introduction by Govern-

ment of a bill for providing education and establishing schools on the basis of the Minutes in Council, violates principles repeatedly put forward by this Union, and calls on this assembly to protest against the money raised by public taxes being used for the purpose of Government education, believing that such a measure is productive of evils—civil, religious, and educational" [loud cheers].

Rev. A. Reed, of Norwich, seconded the resolution; affirming that as new ground had been taken by the Government, a new movement was necessary on the part of this Union.

Mr. Swaine objected to action being taken by the Union at all in this matter. He was disconcerted and disappointed with Lord John Russell's bill; but he believed that the principle of non-intervention of Government in religion was not involved in the measure, and as that principle alone should call the Union to action, he objected to the present motion.

Mr. Edward Baines rose to correct Mr. Swaine. The Government distinctly required religious instruction in the schools receiving their aid; and the bill adopted the Minutes of the Committee of Council, which necessitated that every school before receiving the public funds should furnish proof that religious instruction is imparted. He therefore supported the motion [cheers].

Rev. B. Parsons, of Ebley, said that he had been present at the recent meeting of the British and Foreign School Society, and that Lord John Russell said that Government would see that, in the schools it supported, due attention was given to the body, mind, and morals, and that religion would be regarded as essential thereto. Mr. Parsons also showed that most of the Congregational schools were founded before the recent movements of the Board, and were therefore called and reckoned as British schools; and said that seven such schools in the borough of Stroud, accounted British schools by Government, were really supported by the congregations of that borough. He complained of the unfairness of the proposed measure, as it would make Voluntaries in large towns pay three times for education—once to the public taxes whence grants were made—a second time to the borough rate for local schools—and a third to their own Voluntary institutions [cheers].

Rev. J. G. Rogers, of Ashton, opposed the motion, on the ground that it placed the Union before the working classes as opposing education. He would struggle against the bill privately, but objected to the Union taking measures as a body.

Rev. T. W. Davids, of Colchester, resisted such an argument, denied the assumed fact as to the feeling of the working classes, and strongly supported the present motion.

Rev. Dr. Halley contended for affirming more fully than the resolution did, the ground of the opposition of this Union to the proposed measure. He thought that if we opposed it on religious grounds alone, saying that our objection is mainly to its violation of our religious views, we should be committed to the assertion, that if it had not contravened our religion, we should have been silent, and permitted an educational measure, as such, to pass [cheers]. To that he could not consent; and was desirous of a committee to draw up resolutions more explicit than that now proposed [cheers].

Dr. Massie seconded the amendment.

Mr. Kelly vindicated the resolution, and Mr. Baines explained that it took the ground already occupied by the Union. On which the amendment was withdrawn, and the original motion carried, with five dissentients. The meeting then adjourned.

PARLIAMENTARY.

In the Lords, last night, Earl GREY took the unusual course of moving an address to the Crown for continuing the transportation of convicts until Government had developed its substitutionary measures. Earl ARDEN of course strongly resisted the motion, and notwithstanding Earl DERBY's support, it was negatived by 54 to 37.

In the Commons, Mr. T. CHAMBERS asked leave to introduce a bill for the inspection of convents. Mr. BOWEN, Mr. LUCAS, and other Roman Catholic members, opposed the motion—as did also Lord JOHN RUSSELL, Mr. DRUMMOND, and Mr. WHITESIDE. It was, however, carried by a majority of 25 (138 to 115).

Mr. STANLEY moved for a commission of inquiry into corrupt practices at Barnstaple, which was agreed to—and Mr. BENTINCK, for a committee of inquiry into the withdrawal of the Durham petition, the discussion of which was adjourned.

ANNEXATION OF PELOU.—Mr. CORDEN has given notice that on the 10th of June he will call attention to this subject.

ELECTION COMMITTEES.—The Harwich Committee have unseated Mr. Peacocke, but find that Mr. Waddington was duly elected. The Committee add, that Mr. Peacocke entered into an arrangement with T. Attwood, Esq., through his solicitor, in accordance with the terms of which arrangement Mr. Peacocke was, on his part, to pay certain sums of money in the event of his return, and that Mr. Attwood was to endeavour to procure the return of Mr. Peacocke for the borough of Harwich.—Mr. Mare has withdrawn his opposition to the Plymouth petition, and consequently is unseated; but the committee have declared Mr. Collier duly elected, and the petition against his return frivolous and vexatious.

THE ADMIRALTY INQUIRY.—Sir Baldwin Walker was yesterday examined, and deposed, with positiveness, to Mr. Stafford's having told him, on two separate occasions, "there was no use in blinking the question—he was so pressed by the Earl of Derby and the Chancellor of the Exchequer that he could not help himself."

THE CHINESE REBELLION.—It was strongly reported in the City yesterday afternoon (says the *Times* City article) that letters from Shanghai to the 3rd of March contain an announcement that the British residents had provisioned their ships, and were prepared to embark in case of emergency; that the Chinese authorities had applied to the British Consul for aid to enable them to protect Nankin, and to quell the rebellion; and that the Consul had referred the matter to the Colonial Government at Hongkong.

CORN EXCHANGE MARK-LANE, WEDNESDAY, May 11.

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Letters to the Editor should be addressed to 4, Horse-shoe-court, Ludgate-hill, as heretofore.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"T. V. W."—We deem it quite inexpedient to reply to criticisms on any work in which we happen to take an interest.

"James Hardman."—We know of no case bearing on the subject, but should imagine that as Easter dues are a legal claim, they can be recovered in a County Court, unless legal objection be taken.

"W. S. O."—The notice may be served any day, but the tenant can claim a fortnight's interval from the last day of payment.

"Theophilus."—The question has been settled in spite of our opposition to a restrictive policy, and we see no practical good, but only injury to the institution as it now exists, by re-opening it. His former communication was not made use of in consequence of a press of matter.

"A Constant Reader" seems scarcely aware that, in future, the receipt stamp is to consist simply of a postage-stamp affixed.

The Nonconformist.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 11, 1853.

SUMMARY.

OUTSIDE the walls of Parliament the anniversary meetings of religious and philanthropic societies claim the greatest share of attention this week, and may be thought by some to absorb too much of our space. If, however, we are thus obliged, to some extent, to exclude current topics and news, we are furnished with an opportunity, presented but once a year, of contemplating those vast and beneficent agencies, which have a share in moulding the social and religious destinies of this country, and reveal that activity of Christian vitality which is the hope and glory of Britain.

The most prominent topic of these gatherings has been the Government Education Bill; and seeing that its insidious provisions are calculated to impair the efficacy of the great principle which underlies these varied agencies, the attention it has received has not been misplaced. Wisely do the supporters of religious societies resist, in one direction, the advances of a Government influence which, in other directions, must affect themselves. Stealthily and step by step the State is preparing to narrow the ground in which the zeal of the philanthropist and the Christian has hitherto had full play, and we believe Mr. Baines did not at all exaggerate the circumstances of the case, when he stated that the inevitable result of the adoption of Sir J. K. Shuttleworth's scheme would be, sooner or later, the closing of all Voluntary schools, "and that the entire education of the country would be brought under the domination of the Government."

We are glad, therefore, to find that the opposition to the measure gathers fresh force every week. It was strongly condemned at the meeting of the Voluntary School Association; and the Congregational Union, yesterday, after a full and interesting discussion, adopted a resolution, with only a few dissentients, adverse to the Bill. It will be seen that it was discussed in all its bearings at an influential Conference of the friends of Voluntary education, on Friday last, when vigorous measures to ensure its defeat or withdrawal were resolved upon. The chief of these were letters or memorials from constituents to their representatives, the agitation of the subject in town councils—to whom it has become a practical question—and renewed efforts for the repeal of the taxes on knowledge. Several hundred pounds were subscribed to enable the opponents of the measure to commence immediate operations. Lord J. Russell took occasion, at the

meeting of the British and Foreign School Society, to reiterate his belief in the necessity of combining religious with secular education; and the Earl of Shaftesbury, at the anniversary of the Ragged-school Union, to claim that State aid which but a few years ago he strongly deprecated. In spite, however, of these ominous indications, it is evident, from the spirit of the meeting held a few days ago at the Society of Arts, that the gratifying results of the census are making a due impression in influential quarters, and that the principle of Voluntary education has everything to gain and nothing to lose by the fullest discussion.

Another interesting question discussed at the meetings of the week, is that of the religious condition of the working classes. The facts brought under notice by the Christian Instruction Society and Sunday-school Union only too fully confirm previous statements on the subject. The Chairman of the Congregational Union, it will be seen, rather doubts the extent of the alienation of the working classes from religious institutions, and thinks the decline in the prosperity of Christian churches has been exaggerated. Amongst other causes for a low state of religion, he assigns the following:—"The separation of Church and State, an object, they all desiderated, had been advocated in a worldly spirit, and the public meetings held thereon, and the aggressive warfare used, had kept Churchmen from attending Congregational ministries and becoming acquainted with Congregational principles"—a statement and a suggestion which we may possibly discuss at our leisure.

Of the meetings of other societies, little need be said. Two of them—the Bible Society and the Sunday-school Union—propose to raise supplementary funds this year in honour of their Jubilee. In the former case, sympathy is checked by the knowledge that the monopoly of the Bible is mainly upheld by the Society which aims to promote its diffusion; in the latter, we have more than once expressed our hearty wishes for success. The noiseless operations of the Tract Society may be gathered from the statement that, during the past twelvemonths, the books and tracts circulated have amounted to the immense number of twenty-seven millions; and that, since its foundation, six hundred millions of publications have been issued from its presses, in not fewer than one hundred and twelve different languages.

But extensive as are the operations of these religious societies, it is a startling fact that the aggregate income expended by them in missionary operations during the present century scarcely equals one year's expenditure upon our warlike establishments! This consideration gives increased weight to the proposal submitted to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs by the deputation from the Peace Conference Committee on Wednesday last. The Earl of Clarendon does not dispute the reasonableness of substituting arbitration for war, but thinks the spirit of the age a better security for peace than any specific bond to submit disputes to the friendly decision of a third power. To which it may be replied that, though the spirit of the age has diminished the chances of collision, our armaments are maintained on the same footing, nay, that our expenditure in this direction is largely increasing. The adoption of the arbitration clause would remove this anomaly. If once that principle of settling international disputes be formally recognised by the two great Anglo-Saxon nations, other countries will not be slow to follow. The same result will ensue as in the case of duelling. That contingency which the Earl of Clarendon even now considers so remote, will then have become so improbable that ourselves, as well as our neighbours, may with safety spend, or rather waste, some millions less than we now do in maintaining war establishments in time of peace.

The upper House of Legislation has discussed at some length, though without any practical result, the question of nunneries, with a view to their inspection—even the liberal Archbishop of Dublin contending for some legal supervision of these establishments. That there is industrious agitation out of doors is evident from the fact that one petition presented was signed by 33,370 persons. The same subject last night led to a Ministerial defeat in the House of Commons; Mr. T. Chambers' motion for leave to bring in a bill to facilitate the recovery of liberty in certain cases having been carried by 138 against 115,

in spite of Lord John Russell. The Lord Chancellor has introduced the Government measure relative to Charitable Trusts, which will, of course, embrace educational endowments, and the Bill is now in the hands of a select committee. Amongst a batch of Bills which received the royal assent on Monday was the Clergy Reserves (Canada) Bill.

With that peculiar indiscretion so unhappily characteristic of the man, Earl Grey, last night, brought on the question of transportation with a view to prevent any new arrangements being entered into until Parliament has an opportunity of discussing them. The Earl of Aberdeen denied that it was proposed to abolish transportation altogether, and turned the tables upon the late Colonial Secretary by reminding him that Government was simply proposing to realize his engagement to the inhabitants of Van Dieman's Land, that no more convicts should be sent to that island. He promised shortly to lay the Ministerial proposal before the House; and stated that, although transportation was not to be entirely abolished, in a very great number of cases other kinds of reformatory punishment would be recommended. On a division Earl Grey commanded but few votes.

With the exception of unauthenticated rumours of the settlement of the disputes relative to the Holy Shrines at Constantinople, interesting and significant discussions in the Belgian Chambers on a Ministerial proposal for increased national defences, and the enthusiastic celebration of the anniversary of their Constitution by the Piedmontese, continental intelligence presents no features of interest.

WEEKLY PARLIAMENTARY NOTES.

MISTAKEN philanthropy is, perhaps, one of the commonest, as it certainly is one of the most mischievous, features of legislation in the present day. The Bill introduced by Sir Henry Hallford, called "Payment of Wages Bill," which stood for a second reading on Wednesday last, was an illustration of compassionate kindness seeking to effect its object by an illegitimate and self-defeating method. The measure sought to compel the payment by masters of their workmen's wages, without deduction of any kind in the shape of rent, fines, &c. Its operation, if passed into law, would have been felt chiefly by the hosiery trade, and in the Midland counties—but, like most legislative interferences between employers and employed, it would simply have harassed the former, without advantage to the latter. Sir H. Hallford's speech, which was delivered in the driest and most uninteresting manner possible, and which few listened to with anything like persistent attention, was replied to by Mr. W. Biggs, member for Newport, who made, on this occasion, his maiden speech. As he was thoroughly master of the subject in all its practical bearings, and aimed only at putting the House into possession of full and correct information, he secured for himself a flattering hearing. With complete presence of mind, a simple and easy style of address, a logical arrangement of his topics, and, in relation to the question before the House, a courteous moderation of tone, it was hardly possible for him to fail in making a most favourable impression. Had he not gone out of his way to indulge in a parenthetical fling of contempt at the House of Lords, and again to thrust a few nettles against the sensitive skin of country gentlemen, we believe his speech would have given unmixed pleasure to both sides of the House. Certainly it was the speech of the day, although Mr. Strutt and Mr. Cardwell spoke convincingly on the same side, nor did it leave anything for the advocates of the Bill to fasten on, but the stinging expressions to which we have alluded. These provoked the ire of the Marquis of Granby and Lord John Manners, who seemed glad enough of an excuse for substituting fuming indignation for precise arguments. The Bill was rejected on a division, but by no very large majority.

This question disposed of, the House immediately passed to the "Combination of Workmen's" Bill, which stood for a third reading. The Bill is comprised in one short clause, and merely declares the law which recent conflicting legal decisions had rendered doubtful. It allows workmen to combine peaceably for the purpose of persuading others to co-operate with them in determining the conditions on which their industry shall be exercised. The Government

allowed it to pass through its earlier stages, alleging that, although unnecessary, it would do no harm. They now opposed it as mischievous. A division was just about to be taken, when Mr. Hume, fearing for its issue, moved an adjournment of the debate, and in opposition to the entreaties of the friends of the measure, persisted in his motion. The consequence was the waste of a quarter of an hour, for the House decided against him by a large majority. The Speaker, after announcing the numbers, was about to put the main question, when, pausing for a few seconds, and glancing with a significant expression at the clock—which stood exactly at 6—he declared “The House stands now adjourned.”

On Thursday evening there was more than one remarkable incident. In the earlier part of it Mr. Thomas Duncombe put some questions to Ministers relating to their prosecution of Mr. Hale, and the alleged Kossuth conspiracy, which questions he introduced by a speech jocular in its tone, but serious in its matter, highly condemnatory of the late proceedings of Government towards the illustrious Hungarian exile. Lord Palmerston attempted to reply in the same vein, but failed, for he was compelled to confess that no evidence existed on which to found a charge against any other individuals, native or foreign, but Mr. Hale, and that matters were carried on against him solely because they had already gone on too far to allow of retreat with dignity. Lord Dudley Stuart made a spirited complaint of the *espionage* to which Kossuth had been subjected, and Mr. Bright, besides denouncing the conduct of Lord Palmerston in this affair, levelled a swinging blow at the *Times*. The noble lord replied in a very subdued tone, and Sir Joshua Walmsley administered a last kick at the calumniators of Kossuth. We guess this is the last time he will have to complain of a nation's hospitality being degraded by police impertinences.

The House afterwards went into Committee on the income-tax, the question being, whether the words “Great Britain” should be substituted in the Chancellor of the Exchequer's resolution for those of “the United Kingdom,” the effect of which would be to exempt Ireland from the incidence of this tax. For a couple of hours or more, the debate exhibited no features of special interest, and was conducted chiefly by Irish members, whose calculations and arguments were of a description to which Dr. Johnson's words forcibly applied—“What was new was not true—what was true was not new.” It was about 10 o'clock when Mr. Duffy rose to sustain the claims of Ireland to be exempted. He was not very happy in his manner, and seemed to suffer from loss of presence of mind—a very common and excusable thing for a new speaker in the House of Commons. Perhaps it was a consciousness of this which prompted him to give utterance to two or three sentences in strong language. He had been speaking about a quarter of an hour to little effect, when he observed, referring, as the context of his speech would have led one to suppose, to the division on Monday in favour of the Income-tax, that some Irish members may have given a conscientious vote, but that, short as had been his experience of the House, the grossest corruption practised by the Walpoles and the Pelhams had been brought to bear, under his own eyes, by the present Government upon some Irish members. A shout of “Name, name,” interrupted him. He stood as if hesitating for a minute, and intimated that he was in the hands of the Committee, to do their bidding. “Name, name,” was again vociferated, and was responded to by some members on the Opposition benches with cries of “No, no.” Confusion, noise, and disorder ensued. Whenever the hon. member for New Ross attempted to proceed he was overwhelmed by a fresh volley of shouts, “Name, name.” “If the Chairman,” he said, “tells me that it is the wish of the Committee, I am prepared to name.” An explosion of derisive laughter followed, and Mr. Duffy resumed, “I will now pass to another part of the subject.” This, however, would not suit the aggrieved Irish members on the Ministerial side. Again they roared out “Name, name,” and again confusion reigned paramount. Then started up Mr. J. Ball, and moved that “the words be taken down,” which was followed by another burst of laughter. A short interchange of opinions between Mr. Moore and Mr. Francis Scully, delivered in a tone of considerable excitement, as to whether such a motion was or

was not permissible, was followed by the Chairman announcing, that the question he had to put was, that “the words of the hon. member for New Ross be taken down,” after which, looking towards Mr. J. Ball, he said “What words?” Another explosion of merriment. Mr. Ball, with some hesitation, and some assistance from those around him, repeated the offensive words, and having done so, sat down to write them, and subsequently handed them up to Mr. Bouverie, during the interval required for which, the Committee was in a state of perfect tumult. The words having been read from the Chair, and the question put, Lord John Russell rose, and recounting the circumstances of the case, thought that the Committee would be wise to treat the words, as words used in the heat of debate which the hon. member was unable to prove—but that if Mr. Duffy would, with the Speaker in the chair, prefer the same charge individually which he had made generally against Irish members, he would concur in voting that the words be taken down. The most singular feature of the scene was that which now presented itself. Mr. Lucas, by whose side Mr. Duffy was sitting, rose first to question the accuracy of the words taken down, which the hon. member for New Ross had previously admitted, and then to argue that they meant a charge against the Government, and not against any Irish members in particular. It occurred to every one to ask that if this were the meaning intended, why Mr. Duffy did not state it for himself, or at least confirm it when stated for him by another. Mr. Disraeli, taking his cue from the hon. member for Meath, contended that to accuse the Government of corruption was not disorderly, and might become a patriot's duty. Lord Palmerston met any such charge against Government by a simple challenge of proof, but advised Mr. Duffy to withdraw his imputation on the integrity of his Irish colleagues. Mr. Duffy, however, would withdraw nothing, but he proceeded to explain the words he had used as bearing a meaning substantially the same as that put upon them by the hon. member for Meath. Mr. Bright now good-naturedly interposed on Mr. Duffy's behalf, but ineffectually. The Chairman put the question, which was assented to—then, that he should report the words to the House—and then left the chair. The Speaker was called in, and took his place, dignified and urbane as ever. From this moment, although excitement ran high, disorder ceased. Mr. Duffy was now called upon from the Chair, to offer to the House any remarks, either by way of explanation or apology, which he might deem fitting, and afterwards to withdraw. Accordingly he rose, and, adding a few words to the explanation he had previously made to the Committee, left the House. A discussion ensued as to the course to be pursued, in which Lord John Russell and Mr. Disraeli took part, but neither displayed much tact in extricating the House from its difficulty. Mr. Stuart Wortley suggested the most sensible course—namely, that the “words” be taken under consideration at four o'clock on Friday—and that the member for New Ross be ordered to attend in his place. Mr. Bright pleaded for the adoption of this suggestion, and Mr. Serjeant Shee, in urging it upon the House, constructed a possible meaning for Mr. Duffy's sentence, which deprived it altogether of its offensive purport. The motion was agreed to, and after the disposal of certain routine business the House adjourned.

Of course, on Friday hon. members rushed down to the New Palace at Westminster in crowds, and curiosity was intense as to the mode in which the scene would run on to its *dénouement*. At four o'clock Mr. Duffy was in his place, and the House was thronged, but it was nearly five o'clock before preliminary business was got through. The Speaker then rose, and invited Mr. Duffy once more to explain or retract the offensive language to which he had given utterance. Well, the language was explained in the *Shee* sense—to wit, that the member for New Ross, seeing some Irish colleagues, regardless of their solemn pledges to their constituents, accepting office under, and supporting, the present Government, could account for it on no other principle, than that they had been corrupted by Government influence—and that he regretted it, in giving, or attempting to give, expression to this conclusion, he had done aught which was disorderly. Lord John Russell, as leader of the House, remarked upon the new form which the

charge of the hon. member had taken—recommended that, under the circumstances, no further notice be taken of it—and moved to “pass on to the other orders of the day.” A general burst of laughter followed upon this very tame and common-place termination of a most exciting passage of Parliamentary history. Mr. Speaker left the chair, the House returned to Committee, and a general movement was made towards the door. In the midst of the confusion that ensued, Mr. Bouverie put the question on which the Committee was debating when the Irish episode commenced. Sir J. Pakington, not hearing it, asked what it was, and the question was a second time put—lingeringly—but no one rose to address the Committee. Accordingly, strangers were ordered to withdraw, the division bells rang, and the House was delighted at finding that a discussion which had already wearied everybody, but which was intended to be protracted through another night, had been brought to so unexpected and early a close. The feeling, however, was not universal. As soon as the doors were closed, a conflict of opinion exhibited itself, which was carried on by members sitting and covered—no formal discussion being “in order,” between the putting of a question and a division. Hence, whatever members may have to say during that interval, they must say whilst still occupying their seats, and with their hats on. It was contended that the Chairman of Ways and Means ought to have called upon Mr. Duffy to proceed with the address, in which he had been interrupted the evening before, and that until he had done so, he ought not to have called for a division. Mr. Bouverie decided upon proceeding with the division in the first place, and afterwards of considering the point of order.

The division showed a majority of about four to one against exempting Ireland from the Income-tax. As soon as the numbers had been announced, it was agreed to “report progress,” in order to ask the Speaker's judgment on the decision of the Chairman above alluded to. Accordingly the House resumed, and the Speaker explained that Mr. Bouverie had been perfectly right. The House then returned into committee, and Mr. Bouverie was loudly cheered on taking the chair. It was then that Captain Magan rose, and referring to the division, said that he had perfectly understood the question as put by the Chairman, but he and others had left the House because they believed that the motion of Mr. Lawless was a sham, and he went on to remark that it was ill sustained by the incoherent ravings of the hon. member's “guilty conscience.” Here was the beginning of another Irish row. Mr. Lawless, who was sitting below the gangway, instantly started up, and the Committee once more became a scene of tumult. Pushing his way from the lower to the upper end of the bench, Mr. Lawless moved that the hon. member's words be taken down. The Chairman, however, decided that they were not disorderly, and called upon Captain Magan to proceed. He rose to do so—Mr. Lawless rose also. A cry of “Order, order!” “Chair, chair!” from both sides of the House, prevented the latter gentleman from further speech. Again Captain Magan rose—again Mr. Lawless started up, and again he was roared down with the same cry. Three or four times this disorder was repeated. At last silence was obtained by the interposition of Lord John Russell; and Captain Magan, after gracefully retracting any expression which might have been offensive to the hon. gentleman, made a few cutting remarks on broken pledges, and alluded to a compact between the Irish party on the one hand, and the Whigs and Peelites on the other, effected on their behalf by “an accredited agent.” The matter then dropped. The business of the Committee proceeded. An amendment of Dr. Mitchell was tamely discussed and disposed of, and it was hoped that personalities were at an end.

On Monday, however, Mr. E. Ball called attention, amid much laughter, provoked by the solemnity of his tones, to the statement of Captain Magan anent this same “compact” whereby Lord Derby's Administration was turned out, and Irish assistance was lent to the work, on the assurance of the said “accredited agent,” that Ireland should be protected from an imposition of the Income-tax. Lord John denied that there was any truth in the rumour. Still the Opposition persisted. Member after member, alluding darkly to some interview between a body

Irish members and an accredited agent of the combined party now conducting the Government, stated that corrupt influence had been employed, and faith remorselessly betrayed. At length Mr. Moore, tired, as he said, of "beating about the bush," pointed to the member for Wells, Mr. Hayter, as "the accredited agent" so frequently referred to. Mr. Hayter rose, and in a most explicit and emphatic manner denied the whole port. Nothing more has come of it. It seems clear that some one had discovered "a mare's nest." The process of questioning could be carried no further—and so Mr. Palmer was allowed to propose his amendment for assessing the estate to the Income-tax at its net, instead of its gross, value. The debate was spirited, especially after nine o'clock, and the division showed a majority for Ministers of 75.

We have so far trespassed upon our ordinary limits that we can only afford space to remark that nearly six hours were given last night to a discussion on the motion of Mr. Chambers for leave to bring in a bill for the inspection of nunneries, which he carried; and that, in consequence of the closeness of the hour, Mr. Berkeley was compelled to postpone his motion for the Ballot.

DRUMMOND AND DUFFY—MORALS AND MANNERS.

ETYMOLOGY informs us that the words "morals" and "manners" come of one root—that was only as perception became more acute, and the atmosphere of sentiment more pure, a distinction was made between demeanor and duty, the science of ethics and the art of deportment. The fact is curiously illustrated by what we daily see among the less cultivated classes, where the only standard of right and wrong is the conventional one of custom. And it received a startling illustration from what occurred on two nights last week, in an assembly supposed to represent the highest culture of English society.

On Tuesday, Sir J. Shelley, the new and lively member for Westminster, proposed that, in conformity with a standing order of the House of Commons, Sir Frederick Smith, having been reported by a committee guilty of bribery and corruption, be prosecuted by the Attorney-General. The first objection to this proposal was, that no man would convict upon the evidence in the hands of the House—an objection that came with singularly small effect from a member of a committee which had already punished Sir Frederick for the alleged offence by unseating him. From an opposite quarter, it was urged that, as in the case of Morgan, judgment would probably be suffered to go by default, and only a nominal sentence be pronounced. To this second objection it seemed a quite sufficient, as well as appropriate reply, that, as the distributor of "orse-nails" had escaped by virtue of his insouciance, the dispenser of Admiralty patronage would be visited with exemplary severity on account of his magnitude. But the eager cries of the House for a division indicated either an impatience like that stigmatized by the poet who wrote, "wretches hang that jurymen may dine" or a partiality of judgment like that which greater poet denounces by the lips of mad-

men:—
how tattered clothes small vices do appear;
lobes and furred gowns hide all. Plate sin with gold,
and the strong lance of justice hurtless breaks;
arm it in rage—a pigmy's straw doth pierce it."

At the rage of anger and the tumult of party alike arrested by the sardonic humour of Sir Drummond, who defends Sir F. Smith—"a ridiculous officer and an honourable gentleman"—the ground neither of his merit nor his honour, simply of his misfortune. We are all as bad as he—says the honourable member, in effect—he is only worse than we in being found out. We all are and are all bribed in our turn—the peer with a blue ribbon, or a bigger title; the Commoner with a place, according to his profession; the constituents with ribbons for their wives, money for themselves, and places for their sons; the Government that bribes all, is itself bribed with power. The State is the maternal pig, and we are all struggling for our natural nutriment—each that squeak the loudest being the least fortunate or the most resolved. At all this the House laughed incessantly—laughed no less at the doctrine than at the illustration. Two or three got up to deny that they had ever squeaked out as the attempt to refute a sneer always is to its point, they only increased the

general hilarity, and the House voted down the resolution by a majority of one hundred and ten.

On Thursday, how changed the scene! Mr. Gavan Duffy ventured, with the blundering honesty of inexperience, to level at certain Irish members the charges which Mr. Drummond had directed against politicians in general. The impugned resented the impeachment—and the House that had laughed with Drummond got furious at Duffy. He had confounded morality and manners! He had been so foolish as to blurt out as a scathing rebuke the charge that another had daintily set forth in epigram and simile. He had sillily supposed that it could not be ill-mannered—"disorderly" is the Parliamentary phrase—to denounce a supposed immorality. It required the interposition of the highest authorities to restore tranquillity—it was even necessary to let the matter be slept on, lest the House suddenly avenge itself on its unpractised satirist. And when, in the coolness of the next afternoon, Mr. Duffy explained that he meant nothing more than this—that certain Irish members, whom he offered to name, had violated solemn pledges for the sake of place—the House felt that it had made much ado about nothing, and gaily laughed the matter off. From which contrasted scenes, we draw the lesson, that the cause of morals is not served at the expense of manners.

Lord John Russell, who voted against Mr. Drummond on Tuesday, and advised the pooh-poohing of Mr. Duffy's charges on Thursday, has since given notice of a bill for disfranchising the Government workmen at Greenwich, Chatham, Sandwich, Portsmouth, Devonport, Plymouth, Harwich, and Pembroke—the excision, probably, of five thousand persons from the constituency of a country only one in seven of whose adult males possess the franchise. So, the Sir Frederick Smith class being too exalted in character and position for the law to lay hold of them, the prime movers in bribery,—and the Morgan herd, its lowest agents, being so pitifully base that contempt cheats justice,—the enfranchised artisan class, on whom these two opposite extremes of corrupt agency are exerted, it is prepared to punish by the indiscriminate process of disfranchisement! Exposure to impure solicitation is to be regarded as a social immorality, and visited with deprivation of the power to do either right or wrong. Such is the latest of Lord John's innumerable propositions for purifying the representation. Passing by half a dozen different expedients—such as the building of ships by private contract, the investiture of patronage in the hands of men of proved integrity, or the experimental adoption of the ballot—his reforming lordship, ever-mending, ever-marring, proposes to abolish the political rights it is the business of a statesman to watch and guard. At the late general election, writs were withheld from four places that had previously returned representatives—some twenty seats are now, and indefinitely, vacant—our representative system grows more and more restricted—and next session will doubtless witness either its radical reform or its abolition as a nuisance.

SAVING-BANK DEFALCATIONS.

It is now nearly five years since Mr. Henry Herbert, following the example of Mr. Sharman Crawford, pressed upon Parliament the claims of depositors in certain defalcated savings' banks to indemnity or relief from the public funds. Commenting at the time on that application—which was rejected by a majority of only seven votes—we said:—

"Objecting, as we do, to the principle that the community should bear harmless its weak or mistaken members, we cannot admit that a publicly-sanctioned belief should be allowed to inflict unmitigated distress upon the thousands who have proved, by experience its delusiveness. There can be no doubt that the working classes of this country have been accustomed to deposit their hard-earned and sorely-saved pittance in these institutions, in the faith that public credit was pledged to their security. The belief could hardly have grown up without encouragement—unintentional, perhaps—from the few who knew better. Justice and humanity demand, therefore, that the nation should aid in repairing the havoc of the 'disillusion.'"

Retaining, as a fundamental rule of politics, our objection to making Government the stop-gap of every social breach,—our conviction that the case of saving-bank depositors is an exceptional one, has been confirmed by subsequent observation and reflection. The evidence given before the select committee on working-class investments, shows how deep and general was the impression that those establishments were bot-

tomized on public credit—and reference to writers such as Porter and Greg, at once authoritative and popular, proves that the impression was not confined to the ill-informed or careless. The former of those eminent publicists expressly says, in his "Progress of the Nation," that the safety of money deposited in savings' banks is "guaranteed by the State." Other less authoritative but highly respectable publications, from the "Encyclopædia Britannica" to "Chambers' Journal," shared in and widely diffused this belief. And so deeply rooted has it become, that half-a-dozen successive crashes have failed to destroy popular confidence. For, but very recently, the manager of the Isle of Wight Savings' Bank has been discovered to have embezzled about a thousand per annum of the deposits for fourteen years past;—and once more the anguish of the now undeceived testifies to the strength of their reliance.

Cuffe-street (Dublin), Tralee, Killarney, Carrick-on-Suir, New Ross, and Rochdale Savings' Banks, have involved, by their failure, a total loss to the unfortunate depositors of about two hundred thousand pounds. The loss on the first-named, Government consented, after repeated applications, to defray to the amount of one-half. In the other cases, less Parliamentary influence could be brought to bear, and the victims of a misplaced confidence have been consoled only by private subscriptions. Mr. Sharman Crawford and Mr. H. Herbert asked for them only the help that was accorded in the first instance. They offered, on behalf of their friendless clients, to compound with the State—so liberal to creditors that can produce a bond and have power to enforce it—at ten shillings in the pound. A vote of £100,000 was the utmost they claimed for the redemption of the national honour and the relief of suffering wide-spread and undeserved. The Minister who refused to perform this act of justice to the past, also neglected to provide against the recurrence of like demands on the future. Sir Charles Wood's promised measure for the security of deposits in savings' banks, has come down to Mr. Gladstone for presentation to the Legislature; and when the claim of the Irish and Rochdale depositors is renewed—as it shortly will be—the losses of the Isle of Wight unfortunates will have to be added to the account.

The feeblest recital of the sufferings caused by a savings' bank defalcation, would form a harrowing tale. The succession of incredulous distrust to implicit confidence—the paralysis of the faculties that follows on the stunning blow—the alternation of fretful anxiety with angry despondency—the wail of feeble age over the loss of provision against still deeper decrepitude and utter destitution—the recklessness to which some abandon themselves, and the fresh privations to which others resolve on self-subjection—the excitement of bad passions, and the temptation to evil courses—the sense of injustice inflicted, and of virtue unrewarded; of fraud on the part of man, and of unfaithfulness in Providence;—these are elements of hardship some of which may be found in many a cup of misfortune, but all of which mingle in the lot of the poor who have trusted the fruits of industry, thrift, and self-denial, to an unfaithful hand. It is the speciality of their misfortune that constitutes their title to relief, if not to indemnity. If it was virtuous in them to stint and save at the invitation of their social superiors, it was right that they should do so without misgiving; and it will be shameful if the faith that worked by frugality be permitted to bring forth the bitter results that scepticism would have evaded, and indolence or indulgence could but have entailed.

KOSSUTH VINDICATED AND ENCOURAGED.

WE have hitherto refrained, by a stringent effort at self-control, from avowing our belief in Kossuth's innocence of the charge alleged against him by the *Times*, and sanctioned by the evasive replies of the Home Minister—for strong as was our confidence in the Hungarian leader's integrity, we deemed it wrong to anticipate the decision of legal tribunals, and give the lie to the leading journal and the much-extolled Palmerston. Now, however, we are released from the obligation of reserve. The Government have, at length, announced that against Kossuth they have no accusation to prefer, and never had—the *Times* is shamed into silence—and the slandered

hero is entitled to sympathy proportionate to his wrong.

The completion of the Shakspeare testimonial afforded a happy opportunity of demonstrating the unabated attachment of Englishmen to their illustrious guest—their undiminished faith in the goodness of the cause he represents, and the propriety of the means by which he seeks its advancement. The gift, in his own words, "approached the delicacy of poetry"—the occasion, we trust, will prove to have been designated by the finger of Providence. For not in the enthusiasm displayed on Friday at the London Tavern, does the demonstration exclusively consist. The feeling there manifested will be diffused widely as the poetic sentences of Douglas Jerrold, Kossuth's own magnificent oration, and the pungent utterances of Richard Cobden. Wherever even the *Times* is read, hearts will beat responsive to the exile's description of the captive's terrors and the student's beguiling toils—to the patriot's vindication of his country's rights, and in aspirations for their ultimate recovery—to the English senator's indignant denunciation of complicity with despotism, and *espionage* on refugees. Nor at the hearth-side and in the coffee-house alone, will these sentiments be evoked. At public meetings, specially convened, in the metropolitan boroughs and chief towns in England, they will be rekindled and formally expressed.

It is in vain that Lord Palmerston takes refuge from the accusation of personal injustice towards Kossuth behind assertions of official duty and the usual practices of police. Such excuses will not avail with those who know the story of his lordship's public life—who remember, too, that Aberdeen pronounces Francis Joseph an "illustrious youth, the hope of his country;" and Russell holds the Hungarians to be rebels. Recent occurrences must be read in the light of remoter facts, that their animus may be clear. So exhibited, they are abhorrent to English sentiment—and the Government that is responsible for them, will assuredly be brought to account by the people whose power and honour they have abused. Retribution may be delayed even till the New Reform Bill arms the nation with the means of self-justification—but come it will.

ANTI-SLAVERY NOTABLES.

We mentioned, two or three weeks since, in commendatory terms, the issue of an Address by the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, "To Christians of all denominations in the United Kingdom, and especially to Christian Ministers." We much regret that accumulating arrears of matter compel us to relegate the Address itself to the compositors' cases—but the information appended to it is too important to be withdrawn, and too seasonable longer to be withheld. It affords, our readers will observe, a striking confirmation of some statements in Mrs. Stowe's address to the ladies who met her on Saturday at Stafford House:—

The above address would be incomplete without a statistical account of the extent to which the American churches, missionary associations and religious societies, are directly implicated in slave-holding, or otherwise instrumental in supporting the system. The subjoined statement is therefore presented for the information and guidance of those to whose attention the address is especially recommended. It is given on the authority of Professor Blanchard, of Knox College, Illinois.

| THE CHURCHES. | | | |
|--------------------------|------------|-----------|---------|
| Denominations. | Ministers. | Members. | Slaves. |
| Protestant Episcopalians | 1,504 | 73,000 | 88,000 |
| Presbyterians | 4,578 | 490,259 | 77,000 |
| Baptists | 8,018 | 948,867 | 226,000 |
| Methodists | 6,000 | 1,250,000 | 219,563 |
| Other denominations | 3,514 | 530,196 | 50,000 |
| Total | 23,614 | 3,292,322 | 660,563 |

At 800 dollars (a low estimate at present) for each slave, this table shows that there is actually vested in human bodies and souls, a property-fund amounting to the enormous sum of \$28,450,400 dollars, or £105,690,080, owned by the American Protestant churches. On the other hand, as the whole number of slaves held in the United States amounts to 3,300,000 in round numbers, of which the above list includes only a fifth, it may reasonably be asked: By what class of persons are the remaining four-fifths held? Do they make no profession of religion at all? Or to what denomination do they belong? Without attempting to answer these questions, it cannot be denied that the fact of 660,563 slaves being held in the United States by ministers and members of the Protestant churches, is one that must exercise a powerful influence in maintaining the system of slavery.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES THAT REFUSE TO TREAT SLAVE-HOLDING AS A SIN.

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions; American Home Missionary Society; American Bible Society; American Baptist Missionary Union; American Baptist Home Mission Society; American Baptist Publication Society; American Bible Union; American and Foreign Bible Society; American Tract Society; American Sunday-school Union, the missionary

societies of the Protestant Methodist, Episcopal Methodist, and Moravian bodies respectively.

It is only an act of justice to the churches and missionary associations which have refused to receive slaveholders as members, to record their names in honourable contrast with those who are implicated in the enormous iniquity of slave-holding. They are therefore subjoined.

American Baptist Free Mission Society, aided by about 10,000 members; American Missionary Association, aided by 20,000; American Free Presbyterians, nearly 1,000; American Free-will Baptists, 46,215; American "Friends," 300 congregations; American Covenanters, a few hundreds; American Wesleyan Methodists, 20,000.

In conclusion, it may be observed, that if ministers and members of Protestant churches are to retain their fellow-men in slavery, without incurring the censure of the religious community to which they belong, this procedure can scarcely be regarded as anything less than a practical declaration that slavery is not inconsistent with the principles of the gospel.

At one or two of the religious meetings of last week, attended by deputations from America, there have been significant allusions to this subject by English speakers, greeted with hearty applause, and by which those gentlemen may profit. It is well they should understand that English directness cannot understand their sophistry—cannot, for instance, make common cause with a Tract Society which emulates the Pope in mutilating religious books, that, by implication, breathe a word in condemnation of slavery. As the corresponding secretary of this society was present at the meeting of the Sunday-school Union, we are sorry that an attempt to embody the anti-slavery feeling of the audience in a resolution was resisted by the committee "as foreign to its business," and prevented by the Chairman from being submitted to the meeting. We can easily imagine that the pro-slavery party across the Atlantic may be anxious to counteract the moral effect of Mrs. Stowe's visit to this country, and may indulge the vain hope that something may be done by this delegation. We may add, for the special information of Congregational ministers and church members, that Professor Stowe will address the Union on Friday upon the slavery question.

Court, Personal, and Political News.

A CABINET COUNCIL was held at the Foreign Office, Downing-street, on Saturday, which sat three hours.

MR. THACKERAY arrived, a few days ago, in the steamer "Europa," from America. During the passage, having been solicited by the passengers on board, he delivered his lecture on Congreve and Addison. The impression which has gone abroad that a volume on American absurdities may be expected from his pen is incorrect.

DEATH OF LADY DALHOUSIE.—Lady Dalhousie left Calcutta on board the "Monarch," on the 22nd of January, and experienced very fine weather on her passage until Sunday last, when a very strong southerly gale came on, which produced in her ladyship such a degree of extreme debility from sea-sickness, that her frame sunk under its effects.

THE JEWS BILL.—An influential meeting of the electors of the city of London was held on Thursday, when it was unanimously resolved that Baron Lionel Rothschild should not be called upon to resign his seat, notwithstanding the unfavourable decision in the House of Lords last week. A committee was formed to adopt such measures as they may think fit on the subject.

A DEPUTATION, on the subject of Religious Persecution of Protestant Dissenters on the continent, had an interview with the Earl of Clarendon on Monday, at the Foreign-office. The deputation consisted of the Hon. A. Kinnaird, M.P., Mr. Charles Cowan, M.P., Mr. George Hadfield, M.P., Mr. S. M. Peto, M.P., the Rev. E. Steane, D.D., the Rev. W. Brock, and Mr. S. Wilkin.

ACCIDENTS ON RAILWAYS.—In the six months ending last December, 133 persons were killed and 387 hurt on the railways of the United Kingdom. Of these, 9 passengers were killed and 316 hurt from causes beyond their own control; 12 killed and 3 hurt from their own misconduct or want of caution; 31 persons employed on the railways were killed and 42 hurt from causes beyond their own control; 40 were killed and 17 hurt from their own misconduct or want of caution; 41 trespassers were killed and 9 hurt by crossing or walking on the railway. Length of railway open, 7,336 miles; passengers conveyed, 49,886,124. A good many railways contribute no case to the list of dead or wounded: most of these are small lines with little traffic, but some convey many passengers,—as the Dublin and Kingstown, East and West India Docks and Birmingham Junction, Blackwall, South Wales; some lines of large extent, while persons have suffered on them from their own incautiousness, have not produced any "accidents" ending in wounds or death from "causes beyond the control" of the victims,—as the Chester and Holyhead, Edinburgh and Glasgow, Irish Midland, Great Western, South Devon, South Wales, York, Newcastle, and Berwick: the last conveyed more than two million passengers, and one trespasser perished. The Irish lines are singularly free from "accidents."

THE ADMIRALTY PATRONAGE INQUIRY.

This investigation is still in process, and it is utterly impossible to give even a summary of the report spread over the pages of our daily contemporaries. The interest of the inquiry centres in the examination of Mr. Briggs and Mr. Stafford. The former is "reader" to the Board of Admiralty, and greatly amused every one in the committee-room by his airs of immense official importance. His evidence was, however, rather amusing than important.

Mr. Stafford has undergone a severe and protracted examination. It related chiefly to the appointment of Wells as master-smith at the Portsmouth Dockyard, and to his dismissal immediately after by Mr. Stafford. At the period when the vacancy in question occurred, the works at Portsmouth were in a condition of shameful inefficiency. It was, therefore, peculiarly important to select a thoroughly competent man to fill the post; and as no fitting candidate was to be found in the Government service, the Surveyor of the Navy, with the concurrence of the first Lord of the Admiralty, recommended that a smith should be appointed from the private trade. After due inquiries, Wells was formally recommended by Sir B. Walker—the appointment was countersigned by Sir H. Parker—and, on this authority, notices were issued to the surveyor and the superintendent of the dockyard, that Wells was promoted to the situation. At this stage of the proceeding, however, Mr. Stafford returned from the Mediterranean. It appears that, in his canvassing expedition to Chatham with Sir F. Smith, he had promised the place to Cotsell, who was a strong political partisan, and he persisted in dismissing Wells. When Sir H. Parker remonstrated with the Duke of Northumberland on the conduct of Mr. Stafford in this affair, his Grace merely recommended to the secretary, not that justice should be done, but that something should be contrived to satisfy the Admiralty. Two important letters were laid before the committee by Sir Baldwin Walker—one from Commodore Seymour, expressing his disgust at witnessing "a return to the corrupt and dishonest practices of the past," which had been so happily reformed under Sir F. Baring—and another from Captain Richards, a superintendent of dockyards, dwelling on the enormous mischief which the practices of the late Board of Admiralty were working in his department.

In 1849, a man of the name of Joseph Ridgway, in the Chatham-yard, had made an application for promotion, through political interest, which Sir F. Baring described as "most improper"—adding, "I must take measures to put an end to these proceedings, which are worse at Chatham, I think, than elsewhere." Under such circumstances, the application was rejected, and the man was reprimanded. Nevertheless, without the slightest hesitation, Mr. Stafford appointed Ridgway to the post. Under these circumstances, Captain Richards addressed to the secretary a remonstrance, which was treated with utter neglect, and the appointment of Ridgway was persisted in. To show how general was the feeling of disgust at the work which was going on, we may quote the following letter addressed by Admiral Parker to Sir B. Walker:—

25th August, 1852.
"Dear Sir Baldwin,—I quite agree with you about the master-smith, and that it will be of advantage to the public service. Captain Richardson, the superintendent of Chatham-yard, was with me this morning, complaining of the jobbing taking place in Chatham-yard. My advice was to rest on the good cause. It is really lamentable that such a system should go on through a secretary who fancies himself First Lord. It is disgusting, and the sooner it is exposed the better."
HYDE PARKER."

At the sitting on Friday, Mr. Truscott, store-keeper at Stonehouse, was examined. It was shown that during the last election he had been in frequent communication with Major Beresford, Mr. Forbes Mackenzie, and Colonel Forester, "about the elections," and that hopes were held out to him that he should be made Governor of Bermuda. It was also shown that the charge for the political dinner given by Mr. Stafford at Devonport in June, 1852, was down in the Admiralty accounts under the head of "contingencies;" and that including the dinner, Mr. Stafford's hotel expenses at Devonport, for two days, were charged to the Government at £48 15s. 6d. Mr. Hay, the chief clerk of the Admiralty, said he had never known a similar bill sent in by a secretary of the Admiralty.

The Duke of Northumberland, Lord John Russell, and Mr. Disraeli, communicated to the committee their readiness to be examined; and on the motion of Lord Seymour, an application was made to the peers to permit the duke to attend. The permission was, of course, given, and on Monday his Grace was examined, but nothing material was elicited.

PARLIAMENTARY DUEL.—An affair of honour is said to have taken place between Mr. Bernal Osborne, the Secretary to the Admiralty, and Sir Robert Peel, in which Mr. B. Osborne, as the phrase goes, was "pinked" by his antagonist. The hon. and gallant secretary to the Navy, in the discussion some time since upon the Jews' Bill, was, if you remember, very bitter upon the intemperate speech of the young Tamworth baronet against the bill. It is certain that Mr. Bernal Osborne has not been observed in the House until within the last few days.—*London Correspondent of the Dundee Advertiser.*

MONEY ORDERS TO THE COLONIES.—The Postmaster-General is taking measures for establishing a money-order system between this country and the colonies.

WARNING TO SHIFTERS OF GOODS TO AUSTRALIA.—A gentleman, just returned by the "Kate," from Australia, says that without another case or bale of drapery goods being sent over, there are sufficient sent out to serve the colony for the next six years. Our readers may take this for what it is worth.

Parliamentary Proceedings.

THE GOVERNMENT, KOSSUTH, AND THE HALES.

Interpellations on this subject were renewed on Thursday, by Mr. T. DUNCOMBE, on the motion for going into committee of supply. The precise question was, whether the prosecution of the Hales on the second information was to be proceeded with, and whether Kossuth was to be included in the prosecution; but it was expanded into a long and humorous speech, concluding with the declaration—the great body of the people look upon the whole transaction with unmitigated disgust, and interference with refugees in this country will never be allowed.

Lord PALMERSTON thought "if there was an old Act of Parliament against moral squibs and crackers, Mr. Duncombe would come under its provisions." In the first place, he disclaimed all responsibility for what was said in foreign newspapers; their statements regarding him were not always in praise:—

I was told the other day that in the searches recently made in Italy there was a set of daggers found of English manufacture, and that the authorities were indignant and incensed at the detestable and diabolical conduct of the man who had been Minister for Foreign Affairs in England, for on these very daggers his name was inscribed [a laugh]. They said, "There it is, plain enough—Palmer and Son. Oh, the execrable revolutionist! to send destructive weapons, inscribed with his own name, into Italy" [great laughter].

As to the rocket case, he had heard of warlike stores collected in an out-of-the-way place. Coupling that with other circumstances showing some purpose beyond legitimate commerce, it was his duty to act as he had done. The Government did not wish to press hardly on Mr. Hale; but as the case had been commenced, it would be a bad precedent not to let it be fairly tried out. In answer to the second question, he said—"I have no hesitation in saying that there is no evidence to justify proceedings against any other person, British or foreign."

Lord DUDLEY STUART thanked the Home Secretary for his declaration, and admitted with pleasure that Kossuth was indebted to Lord Palmerston for his release from Kutayah.

Mr. BRIGHT denounced the proceedings as "paltry and shabby;" and as to Kossuth, Lord Palmerston had not directly accused him, but he had studiously avoided clearing his character from the imputations of the *Times*. That journal was "a great power in a mask;"—"no man in London, calling himself a gentleman, would have put his name to the article relating to Kossuth." He would tell the *Times*, that it was by such scandalous and lying charges the press of France lost all character, so that the people looked on with disregard, and almost with pleasure, when three-fourths of the papers were suppressed. Kossuth was in adversity and exile; he was trusted by millions of his countrymen, and he lived in hopes of doing his country good. It was "doubly infamous" to assail with falsehoods such a man. Lord Palmerston had once said that *surveillance* had no corresponding English term. Now, he would ask, were the police commissioned to watch Kossuth's house?

Lord PALMERSTON answered, that it was the general duty of the police to see that the laws were not infringed: if they had reason to suspect Kossuth of illegal proceedings, they were bound to ascertain whether there were any grounds for their suspicion. Mr. BRIGHT: Everybody knows that; but have special directions been given regarding Kossuth? Lord PALMERSTON: No.

Mr. COBDEN wished to ask Lord Palmerston another question; but as the Home Secretary had already spoken, he was, as a matter of form, obliged to ask Lord John Russell. Kossuth was simply a Hampden of Hungary; he had filled a high post of honour in that country; therefore, this was no ordinary case. Seeing the reports in the *Times*, Mr. Cobden called on Kossuth, and had his word that there was no foundation for the reports, and his assurance that he would scrupulously respect the laws of England. Kossuth was as much entitled to credence as any member of the Orleans family who are habitually visiting at our Court—"just as much entitled to the honour and respect of this country as any member of the Orleans family who is habitually visiting at Windsor."

Lord JOHN RUSSELL, in reply, explained the policy of this country regarding refugees. Whether they were princes holding the doctrines of absolute government, or extreme republicans, the law of England allowed them to live here undisturbed; but they must not abuse that hospitality for the purpose of levying war against any states at peace and in alliance with the Queen. Respecting Kossuth, there were two opinions: one, that he fought for the liberties of Hungary, and as a patriot defended the ancient constitution; the other, that through imprudence and indiscretion he caused the Austrian monarchy and the Hungarian constitution to come into collision, and so was the author and cause of the destruction of that constitution. But, at any rate, Kossuth came here, liberated through Lord Palmerston's intervention with Turkey, and therefore he was bound not only to obey the general law, but to abstain scrupulously from involving England in any quarrel with any other state. Kossuth might have done so; but they must recollect the proclamation of his which lately appeared in the papers, calling on soldiers to rise against their sovereign. That was an unjustifiable act in a man living quietly in a foreign country. Kossuth had also, and lately, avowed his intention of carrying on war against a sovereign in amity with the sovereign of this country. All these things, coupled with the employment of Hungarians in the manufacture of rockets, made suspicion natural. As to communications with the Home Office on the subject, the police reported all suspicious

circumstances from time to time; and as to communications with Austria, the Government of that country had asked nothing, but had stated that they considered it a grievance that persons levying war on them should be allowed to do so, undisturbed, in this country.

Sir J. WALMSLEY reminded Lord John that the proclamation was written, not in this country, but in Kutayah. The matter could not rest there; if nobody else moved for a committee, he would.

ADJOURNED DEBATE.—CHARGES OF CORRUPTION.

When, on Thursday, the House again went into committee of Ways and Means, Mr. LAWLESS moved, formally, his amendment to the original resolution, the substitution of the words "Great Britain" for the words "United Kingdom." On this amendment the debate was continued by Colonel DUNNE in support, and Mr. VINCENT SCULLY in opposition to it. Mr. DUFFY then rose. He went on for some time asserting that England had always favoured herself at the expense of Ireland, and throwing out taunts at the Irish members. Then he came to the vote of Monday night:—

No doubt, he said, some few Irish members had voted conscientiously [Oh, oh!] But, he added, short as my experience in this House has been, I must say I do not believe that in the worst days of the Walpoles or the Pelhams more scandalous corruption existed than I have seen practised under my own eye in corrupting Irish members [confusion, and cries of "Name, name!"] I am in the hands of the House [continued cries of "Name, name!" and "No, no!"] I will proceed to another part of the question ["No, no!" "Name, name!" and uproar]. If the Chairman tells me, on behalf of the House, that it is their wish I should name, I shall do so [laughter, cries of "No, no!" and "Name, name!"]

Amid great uproar, Mr. VINCENT SCULLY complained of the charge. With considerable vehemence, Mr. JOHN BALL, member for Carlisle, moved that the words of Mr. Duffy should be taken down. The CHAIRMAN asked, "What are the words?" [great laughter.] He could do nothing but report them. Mr. JOHN BALL wrote down the words in this form, and handed the paper to the Chairman:—

The grossest corruption ever practised since the days of the Walpoles and the Pelhams has been practised under my own eyes upon Irish members of this House.

Before putting the question that the words be taken down by the Clerk, the CHAIRMAN asked Mr. Duffy whether he impeached their accuracy. Mr. DUFFY replied: The words read are so near to those I used, that I do not take any exception to them [cheers, laughter, and confusion].

Sir DENHAM NORREYS had already urged Mr. Duffy to withdraw the words; but without response. Lord JOHN RUSSELL then rose. He recounted the circumstances under which the words were used; and proceeded:—

If Mr. Duffy meant to make a vague assertion which he could not prove, he was justified in proposing to pass to other matter; if not, he ought to have named the members whom he charged with gross corruption unparalleled since the days of the Walpoles and Pelhams [cheers]. The Chairman had no power to call on him to "name." Such being the case, the committee might "consider those words as general words used in debate, which the honourable gentleman is totally unable to prove [cheers]—brought forward for the purpose of affixing a stigma on Irish members which they do not deserve [renewed cheers]—and that he is utterly unable to prove any single word of what he uttered [loud cheers].

He (Lord John) would vote that the words should be taken down, if Mr. Duffy, with the Speaker in the chair, should proceed to charge Irish members individually with corruption. But, as matters now stood, he considered it would be better for the committee to treat the words with the contempt they deserved [loud cheers].

Mr. LUCAS understood the words of Mr. Duffy differently from what they had been described ["No!" laughter, and cries of "Hear!"] They constituted an accusation against the Government [great laughter]—but might or might not imply an imputation on Irish members ["Oh, oh!"] It was only in that sense that any complaint could be made.

After a good deal of disputation on the point of accuracy, in the course of which the Chairman said they were disorderly because they imputed improper motives, Mr. DISRAELI interposed. He said there seemed to be some doubt about the words. ["No, no!" and cries of "They are admitted."] He did not find any imputation of "corrupt motives." There was an imputation of "corrupt conduct;" and the allegation of corrupt conduct, especially against a Ministry, was not disorderly. If they declared a member guilty of disorderly conduct because he accused a Minister of corrupt conduct, they would deprive themselves of one of the "highest privileges" of their position.

Lord PALMERSTON concurred with Mr. Disraeli as to the right of impeaching the Government. But as far as the charge of Mr. Duffy against the present Government went, "I challenge him to the proof" [loud cheering from the Ministerial side]. Mr. Duffy was a young member, and he would suggest to him a line of conduct which would redound to his credit:—"Would he not cut short the difficulty by saying, that he regrets that, in the warmth of debate, he cast reflections upon honourable members which he has no good grounds for maintaining, and which he would not deliberately put forth?" [cheers.]

This attempt to make peace was followed by a renewed protest from Mr. LUCAS, that the words did not necessarily imply any imputation on the Irish members. Sir GEORGE GREY called upon Mr. Duffy himself to state such a correction. Mr. HENRY HERBERT, as an Irish member, reminded the House of the advice given by Lord John Russell, which he, for one, was perfectly ready to take—

More especially as, since that excellent advice was

given, the Home Secretary has made an appeal to the member for New Ross, which I think the House will understand me when I say, would have been responded to by anybody deserving the name of—but I hesitate to add the word [loud cheers and laughter].

Mr. DUFFY then rose and said—

I hoped that I should have been protected from such offensive language as has just been addressed to me [oh, cheers, and laughter]. I do not think it creditable that, in an assembly of English gentlemen [oh! cheers, and laughter], I do not think it creditable that, in an assembly of English gentlemen [oh, oh!—such language should be applied to me under such circumstances [derisive cheers]. He then explained the phrase "under my own eye" to mean nothing but "during the period I have been a member of Parliament." He was instancing the conduct of Ministers, and the shape he gave his statement was, "that it was my conviction that, during the time I have been in Parliament, the present Government did operate upon certain Irish members [oh, laughter, cheers, and cries of "Name, name!"] What I wished to convey to the House was, that the same kind of influence which was employed by Walpole and Pelham seemed to me to have been employed to influence the votes of a certain small number of Irish members" [cries of "Name," and laughter]. He was ignorant of the forms of the House, and might have got himself into a difficult position; but he would not unsay what he had said.

Mr. BRIGHT suggested, that after this explanation they had better let the matter drop. While the allegation of "corruption" stood unretracted, however, Mr. JOHN BALL would not consent to withdraw the motion.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL again attempted, more gravely, to bring Mr. Duffy to a sense of his position:—

There are, he said, three ways in which a member might use the words complained of; he might use them in the heat of debate, and a few moments afterwards retract and regret them; he might bring specific charges, prepared to make them the subject of inquiry; or he might make a charge which he cannot substantiate, and has not the manliness to retract. Now, unless Mr. Duffy would name the gentlemen to whom he referred, and bring specific charges, which could be made the subject of a substantial inquiry, he (Lord John) must rest, with regard to his conduct, on the last conclusion stated [cheers].

The committee then agreed that the words should be taken down and reported to the House. Accordingly, the House having resumed, Mr. BOUVIER reported the words; and the SPEAKER asked Mr. Duffy whether he had any explanation to offer? Mr. DUFFY said he did not know the forms of the House. The SPEAKER informed him that he must retract or explain the words, and then withdrew.

Mr. DUFFY briefly repeated his second statement; and said that if the House would give him a committee he would lay before them the facts that influenced him in the conclusions to which he had arrived.

He then withdrew; and the House grew more tranquil.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL did not think it became him, as a member of the Government, to advise the House; and he called upon some "experienced member" to make a motion.

Mr. DISRAELI thought it would not be right to send a vague statement before a committee. He suggested that Mr. Duffy should be summoned and asked to name those upon whom he thought the Government had practised corrupt influences. Mr. STUART WORTLEY moved "that Mr. Duffy's language be taken into consideration at four o'clock to-morrow." That would give them time to consult precedents, and Mr. Duffy time to reflect. Mr. MOORE, Mr. BRIGHT, Mr. CONOLLY, Mr. J. BALL, and Lord JOHN RUSSELL, supported Mr. Wortley's motion; Mr. KIRK, Colonel CAULFIELD, and Mr. VINCENT SCULLY, were for acting on the recommendation of Mr. Disraeli.

Mr. Sergeant SHEE then spoke at considerable length, apparently to explain that Mr. Duffy did not mean that pecuniary corruption had been transacted; and that he had only intended to indicate the offer and acceptance of places by Mr. Sadleir and Mr. Keogh. They were sixty or seventy strong pledged to oppose any Government that did not support certain measures: they had gone into the lobby against the late Government; and then they found two of their number in office.

Ultimately, Mr. WORTLEY's motion was agreed to, with an addition suggested by Mr. W. O. STANLEY, that Mr. Duffy should appear in his place at four o'clock.

On Friday, accordingly, the SPEAKER named Mr. Duffy—who rose in his place, and bowed—formally stated to him his position, and invited him to explain or retract.

Mr. DUFFY thanked the Speaker, and said, that he should have explained on the previous night, but that he was interrupted, first, by Mr. Disraeli's declaration that it is not disorderly to bring a charge of corrupt practices against Ministers, and next by Lord John Russell, who challenged him to the proof of what he said. What he meant to say was, that in the time of Sir Robert Walpole and the Duke of Newcastle men had been induced to abandon solemn and circumstantial pledges, in order to accept place; he charged certain Irish members with doing so, and that he called political corruption. If he had broken the rules of the House, he regretted it.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL observed that this was a very different description of charge from that implied on Thursday. It was not a charge of corruption by money, and, therefore, it was different from the corruption of Sir Robert Walpole's time. It was a matter of opinion; and he did not think that the Irish members in question, or the Ministers, need fear any amount of discussion on the subject. He did not think the House need proceed any further.

In reply to Mr. JOHN BALL, Mr. DUFFY said that he did not connect his statement of the previous night with the division on Monday. Mr. BALL was satisfied;

and, amid considerable laughter, the House proceeded to the orders of the day.

Shortly afterwards the House went into committee; and Mr. BOUVIER, the Chairman, put the question on Mr. Lawless's amendment; which was negatived by 286 to 61. The progress of business was soon interrupted by more Irish disputes. The House was obliged to resume on a point of order—to let Mr. MOORE complain that the Chairman, before putting the question, did not call upon Mr. DUFFY, who had possession of the committee. The SPEAKER decided that, as Mr. DUFFY did not rise in his place to speak, the Chairman was quite at liberty to put the question. Once more in committee, Irish members proved very unruly. Captain MAGAN and Mr. LAWLESS were the centre of a perfect uproar, in which Captain Magan uttered the words "guilty conscience," and Mr. Lawless moved that they should be "taken down." Mr. WALPOLE and Lord JOHN RUSSELL intervened to obtain order—for a long time without effect. At length Sir ROBERT INGLIS got the ear of the committee, and, deprecating this waste of time on Irish personalities, discussed the question of the income-tax. Excitement calmed down, and business proceeded. Amendments were moved—by Mr. FITZGERALD to exempt trades and professions in Ireland, and by Dr. MICHELL altering the rates of poundage on incomes derived from trade; but the former was negatived without a division, and the latter withdrawn. After this the Chairman reported progress.

THE INCOME-TAX—GOVERNMENT AND THE IRISH MEMBERS.

On Monday, on the motion that the House go into a Committee of Ways and Means, Mr. E. BALL inquired of Captain Magan whether he was correctly understood to have stated on Friday, that, while the late Administration were in office, accredited agents of the present Ministry had assured Irish members, that, if those members would assist in throwing out Lord Derby, his successors would not impose upon Ireland an income-tax. Captain MAGAN replied, that Mr. Ball had no strict right to put this question, which ought to have been put openly upon the paper. Lord JOHN RUSSELL said, as far as his knowledge and belief went, no person had been so authorized, and no such offer had ever been made. Lord A. VANE said, in justice to himself as well as to the House, Captain Magan should state the grounds upon which he made the statement, and who was the accredited agent. Captain Magan was ready to do so when the question was stated openly upon the paper. Colonel DUNNE complained of the way in which Irish members were spoken of in the public prints, and urged that this matter should be cleared up. Mr. G. H. MOORE knew nothing about the transaction, but every one, he said, knew who was meant by "accredited agent;" and he appealed to the right hon. member for Wells. Mr. HAYTER, in the most distinct and explicit terms, declared that he was never authorized to make, and never did make, any such communication. Captain MAGAN said, he had spoken in the plural number of "accredited agents," who were three Irish private members, and if a notice were put upon the paper, they would have an opportunity of attending when he mentioned their names. Mr. S. WORTLEY expressed a hope that the House would have done with these unworthy imputations, and the subject was suffered to drop.

The House then went into committee of Ways and Means; and, upon the resolution granting an income-tax, Mr. R. PALMER moved to insert words to define the "annual value of any lands, tenements, or hereditaments," as "the net annual value, after due allowance for repairs, insurance, and management."

This amendment was supported by Mr. MILES, Mr. BUCK, Mr. AGLIONBY, Mr. SPOONER, and Sir W. JOLLIFFE—and opposed by Captain SCOBELL, Mr. PHILLIPS, Colonel HARCOURT, Mr. BRIGHT, and Sir T. ACLAND, the discussion turning chiefly on the alleged peculiar burdens borne by the land.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said, when they viewed this amendment in conjunction with the circumstances which bore upon the renewal of the income-tax, and with the pledges they had given, her Majesty's Government felt that they should desert the first principles of their duty were they to countenance, or meet it with anything less than unqualified opposition. Having reviewed the financial scheme proposed by the late Government in December last, with reference to the income-tax, and contrasted the present amendment with the ostensible purpose of that moved by Sir E. B. Lytton, he objected that the deductions sanctioned by this amendment would deprive the Exchequer of £450,000 a year; which could not be afforded. Besides, no one could suppose that the matter would stop at schedule A; it must go through the whole of the schedules, which would break up the entire tax; and the breaking up of this tax would destroy the whole financial measure of the Government, and compel the country to forego great fiscal and commercial benefits.

Mr. DISRAELI vindicated the financial policy of the late Administration, by comparing it with that of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who, he said, after proving that real property was unequally assessed to the income-tax, cast a new burden upon settled property, the heaviest part of which would fall upon the land, and which, if the income-tax was to last only seven years, ought likewise to be temporary. There was nothing incompatible, he contended, between Sir E. Lytton's amendment and the present. Upon the subject of the amendment, he appealed from Mr. Gladstone to his colleague, Sir James Graham, who had pronounced the claim which it preferred irresistible; and he warned the Government that the country would require from them a distinct explanation of these variations of opinion amongst them.

Lord J. RUSSELL insisted that there was an incon-

sistency between the views of the late Government, and the principle now advocated by Mr. Disraeli, that the burden on permanent incomes should be lightened, and precarious incomes left as they were, whereas only last week it was trades and professions that were to be relieved. In the face of such changes, it was impossible, he said, for the country to rely upon any financial plan which the right hon. gentleman might propose. He trusted that the House would think, as the country thought, that the measure of the Government was for the benefit of the community at large.

Lord J. MANNERS observed, that the noble lord had not answered the claim of justice put forward by Mr. Palmer by appealing to the defeat of another claim of justice on Monday last.

Upon a division, the amendment was negatived by 276 against 201.

The CHAIRMAN was then ordered to report progress, upon the motion of Mr. DISRAELI, after a strong protest from Lord J. RUSSELL.

MISCELLANEOUS.

On Wednesday, the Commons were occupied with two bills of a rather important character, but for a description of which we must refer the reader to our leading-article columns—the Payment of Wages Bill, and the Combination of Workmen Bill. The former was rejected by a majority of 61 (186 to 125)—the discussion of the latter was interrupted by the hour for adjournment.

On Thursday, in the interval of other business, a new writ was ordered for Berwick-on-Tweed, by a majority of 218 to 60. It came out in the debate, that Berwick was the town alluded to last week as the subject of exceedingly corrupt proceedings; but no data for coming to a conclusion on the truth of the story were furnished.

On Friday, in the Lords, the CHANCELLOR moved the third reading of the Registration of Assurances Bill. Lord ST. LEONARDS raised some objections, but the motion was carried by 57 to 29. On the question that the bill do pass, Lord CAMPBELL, Lord LYNDHURST, Lord BEAUMONT, and Lord OVERSTONE, warmly praised the measure.—In the Commons, a new writ was ordered for Maidstone; and Lord JOHN RUSSELL gave notice of a bill for disfranchising workmen in the Government dockyards.

On Monday, in the Lords, Earl SHAFTESBURY presented a petition praying for the registration and inspection of nunneries; the Archbishop of DUBLIN heartily concurred in the prayer of the petitioners; but the Bishop of NORWICH hoped that care would be taken to avoid all undue interference with the religious peculiarities of such establishments. Earl SHAFTESBURY then moved the consideration of the resolution contained in the report of the committee on the displacement of the working classes by the operation of improvement bills; which was agreed to, and adopted as a standing order. A long discussion arose on the motion for going into committee on the Land Improvement (Ireland) Bill: their lordships resolved, by 35 to 8, on going into committee, and passed all the clauses of the bill.

In the Commons, at the time of private business, the second reading of Mr. Hutchinson's Claims Bill, relating to certain pecuniary transactions with the Rajah of Travancore, was negatived by a large majority. Sir J. TYRELL moved that a new writ do issue for the borough of Harwich; but, after a short discussion, and a division, the debate was adjourned until that day fortnight. Mr. C. BERKELEY obtained leave to bring in a bill for further diminishing the expenses of elections of members to serve in Parliament. Sir B. HALL moved an address for a Commission to inquire into the corrupt practices which took place at the late election for the borough of Tynemouth, which, after some remarks by Mr. MOFFATT, was agreed to, and the writ was ordered to be suspended until the 2nd of June; and Mr. T. MITCHELL obtained a select committee of inquiry into allegations concerning the representation of Berwick-on-Tweed.

GREAT FIRE AT HOLMFIRTH.—Holmfirth, which last year suffered from water, has just experienced a great calamity by fire. A very extensive woollen-mill, erected by Mr. Lockwood, but lately occupied by several persons, was burnt down last week. It is thought the fire originated from the spontaneous combustion of "waste." Holmfirth, studded with manufacturing, has not a single fire-engine; the nearest is seven miles away. So the fire had time to get a great hold before any engine could be obtained. The loss is estimated at £12,000 at least, and hundreds of work-people will be thrown out of employment.

CONVICTS TO AUSTRALIA.—The "Robert Small" hired convict ship sailed from Queenstown on Wednesday, with 300 male convicts, for Fremantle, Western Australia. Among the convicts is the artist Kirwan, condemned to death for the murder of his wife at Ireland's Eye, whose sentence has been commuted to transportation for life.

INCLEMENCY OF THE WEATHER.—At Manchester the weather during the last few days has been exceedingly cold, with frequent falls of snow. The first change of temperature was on Friday, and on Saturday there were falls of snow, followed by rain and then by hail. On Sunday some snow fell, and on Monday again the snow came down for several hours in large flakes, but after mingled with rain. A heavy storm of snow fell in Nottingham on Saturday afternoon. From present appearances, a very prolific season is anticipated.

MR. YELF, late actuary and manager of the Isle of Wight Savings Bank, has been committed for trial on three charges of forgery, and for stealing £20, "the monies of the trustees."

THE GOVERNMENT EDUCATION BILL.

A numerously-attended Conference of the leading friends of Voluntary and religious education, for the purpose of considering the Government measure, was held on Thursday last, at Radley's Hotel, the Rev. John Harris, D.D., in the chair. Among others we observed Mr. Milligan, M.P.; Mr. Miall, M.P.; Mr. Heyworth, M.P.; Mr. Pellatt, M.P.; Mr. F. Crossley, M.P.; Mr. Alderman Wire; the Rev. Drs. Campbell and Massie; the Rev. Messrs. Burnet, Brock, T. James, H. Richard, J. H. Hinton, R. Ashton, J. C. Harrison, E. Morley (Hull), J. Pyer (Devonport), A. Good, W. J. Unwin, C. Gilbert, W. Groser, F. Neller, J. Adey, J. Kennedy, T. Scales (Leeds), T. Davies, G. Smith, W. Bean, and W. Griffiths, jun.; Messrs. S. Morley, G. W. Alexander, E. Baines, J. R. Mills, T. Mann, Josiah Conder, J. M. Hare, H. R. Ellington, T. E. Parson, Rice Hopkins, D. Pratt, G. Simmons, J. Boul, J. Stitt (Hull), J. Bartram, James Harvey, A. Le Mare, Jas. Crane (Finchley), J. S. Unwin (Brighton), E. Clarke (Walthamstow), J. W. Pye Smith (Sheffield), John Dawson (Kingston), James Carter, R. Bendall, H. Rutt, H. Bidgood, C. Sheppard, W. Rutt, J. C. Williams, &c. &c.

The Chairman, in opening the proceedings of the day, stated his own objections to the measure which the Government had thought it right to introduce into the House of Commons. He first objected to the measure as unnecessary:—

This had been statistically proved by Lord John Russell himself, in the speech by which he had introduced it to the House. The education of the people was not only in process, but in progress [hear, hear]. Some impatient souls, who would fain treat the education of the people as a cabinet-maker would a piece of furniture—have it finished off and out of hand—were always ready to say, when such a statement was advanced in their hearing, "But your Voluntary principle will never overtake the wants of the people." Against such mere assertion he would reply, "We can adduce proofs that we are overtaking them, and if you only give us time we shall have overtaken them all; only let us alone, and give us time, and, at the present rate of progress, it becomes a mere question of arithmetic, in how many years—or, rather, I should say, in how few [hear, hear] we shall have embraced the entire people" [hear, hear]. What would be thought of a traveller, who, after taking a place in the railway-train at Euston-square, for Glasgow, should put his head out of the window when he had got about half way, and while the train was yet speeding on, and complain that steam was a failure; that it had not taken him to Glasgow, and never would? [laughter.] Why, the very rattle of the machinery would rebuke the man [cheers].

He then referred to various other objections to the proposed bill, and maintained that something should be done vigorously to oppose it.

The Rev. Henry Richard acted as secretary to the Conference. Mr. Samuel Morley said, that a number of letters had been received from gentlemen in various parts of the country, who fully sympathized with the object of the Conference, but were unable to be present. Among others, communications were received from Messrs. T. Barnes, M.P., W. Ackroyd, T. Bateman (Middleton), W. Butler, J. Cripps, H. Cosham (Bristol), T. Herbert, W. Janson, J. Petrie, A. Rooker (Plymouth), J. Wade (Leeds), J. Richardson (Leeds), Titus Salt, Joseph Sturge, William Seymour (Odiham), Thomas Windeatt (Tavistock). In Mr. Windeatt's letter there was an important suggestion, namely, that means should be devised for communicating with the town-councillors of municipal corporations throughout the country, urging upon them to use their influence against the Government measure [hear, hear].

The Chairman then called upon the Rev. J. H. Hinton, who said he had to give evidence before the Education Committee at one o'clock, and he did not, therefore, think it either desirable or necessary to occupy the time of the Conference. He trusted that the friends in the country would supplement the efforts which had been commenced in London, and thus a vigorous opposition be got up against the bill, which was assuredly of a character the most obnoxious.

Mr. Lawrence Heyworth, M.P., thought the suggestion made by Mr. Windeatt was very admirable, and trusted that it would be acted upon. Let the objections to the Government measure felt by the friends of Voluntary education be short and pithily expressed, in a circular, and sent to all the town-councillors in the kingdom, and the result could not fail to be beneficial to the cause of truth [hear, hear].

The Conference having so largely increased in numbers, Mr. Morley suggested the propriety of adjourning to a larger room—a proposition which was at once acted upon. This having been done,

Mr. Edward Baines said, he would detain the Conference but a short time. He thought the suggestion respecting an address to the town-councillors to be both wise and practicable. He then pointed out the extremely disadvantageous position in which the bill would place Voluntary schools:—

Sir James Kay Shuttleworth proposed, that the cost of education in the public schools throughout the country should be raised to 8d. a week per scholar, or 82s. a year. Sir James supposed that three-halfpence would, on an average, be paid by the scholars, another three-halfpence raised by Voluntary subscription, 2d. paid by the local rate, and 3d. contributed from the funds of the nation, on the vote of Committee on Council. But there was a clause which provided, that the rate of payment in schools might be as low as one-tenth; while there was extremely good reason to think that would become the average rate of charge in the Church schools; because they would be able to reduce the rate of payment to 1d. See, then, how the thing would operate. How would the Voluntary school compete with the State-aided school? If the one school gave education for 1d., the other, assuredly, would not be able to obtain more than 1d., while, at the same time, the Voluntary school would be

compelled, in order to compete with their opponents, to raise the scale of expenditure to 8d. Thus, those who received Government aid would only have to raise 2d., while those who adhered to the Voluntary principle must raise 7d. This, surely, was a point of immense importance, and affected all future operations to a very serious extent.

He adverted to the importance of the publication of Sir J. Kay Shuttleworth's book:—

The fact reminded him the other day of the words of the Patriarch, "Oh, that mine enemy would write a book" [laughter and cheers]. Well, in this book, it was estimated further, that the cost likely to be entailed upon the country for the proposed scheme of education, would be £1,800,000, and that, certain other collateral expenses would raise the sum to two millions and a-half; and this number simply to make up the difference between 1 in 8½, and 1 in 8 [hear, hear, hear]. Another great advantage was, that the attempt to centralize the education of the country under the control of the Committee of Council was perfectly undisguised. Sir James Graham's bill had an evidently Jesuitical design about it; but the bill now laid before the country was so plain, that there could be no mistake upon the matter. In addition to the bill itself, a fresh Minute in Council was published on Monday last, applying to all places not exceeding a population of 5,000; while the bill itself applied to corporate towns only. At present no provision seemed to have been made for non-corporate towns exceeding 5,000; but there could be no doubt that the two extremities being provided for, the hiatus would be filled up. Now, the whole of this educational scheme would be brought under the control of the Committee of Council. The town-council were to have the honour of levying the rate, and keeping a register upon their books, but they would have no control over the schools, the Committee of Council having taken upon itself entirely to govern the schools of the country [hear, hear]. The very force of circumstances, he contended, would produce this result,—the whole of the popular education of the country must come under the Committee of Council, if it was to provide five-eighths of the money. Was not that a temptation which it was unreasonable to suppose would be resisted? and, therefore, it must be evident that no such power ought to be placed in any irresponsible body of men whatever [hear, hear]. Then as to the cost of education. This measure did not provide for leaving it as it now stood in the British and Foreign Schools, in the Voluntary or private schools, but proposed to place it 50 per cent. above its cost in the best educated State of the American Union. The cost of education in the State of Massachusetts was said to be 20s. per scholar; Sir Kay Shuttleworth would make it in England 32s. per scholar [hear, hear]. In New York, it was 10s. 9d., and in all the States of New England, from 10s. to 14s. [hear, hear]. It was affirmed—and he had no doubt truly so—that there was not a more moral State in the whole world than Massachusetts, and it was, perhaps, the best educated State in the world; and yet, while the cost there per scholar, of all classes, was only 20s., it was proposed to make the cost for the humbler classes only of this country, 32s. [hear, hear]. He wished to be understood, however, not as objecting to any amount of expenditure upon schools, if reached by a natural, felt necessity; but he did say, that it would be a most dangerous thing artificially and arbitrarily to raise the cost of education. There could be no doubt whatever of the fact, that the great stimulus which education had received in this country was given before Government ever touched the subject—before one single sixpence was granted by the State, or the Committee of Council was called into existence [hear, hear]. Mr. Baines contended, that the present measure of Government was brought in in an unconstitutional manner, coming, as it did, through the Committee of Council; and he earnestly hoped that it would be defeated; but if, unhappily, it should become law, then the maintenance of Voluntary schools would require such an amount of sacrifice on the part of their friends, as it could not reasonably be expected they would be willing or able to give; and the inevitable result, therefore, would be, that those schools would be closed, and that the entire education of the country would be brought under the domination of the Government [hear, hear].

The Rev. John Burnet moved the first resolution, which, with the rest, will be found in our advertising columns. In the course of his speech he made one happy allusion in reference to the statistics of the question. It was admitted, as had been shown, that 1 in 8 of the population at school would be a satisfactory state of things, and already there was 1 in 8½; therefore it was proposed to spend two millions and a-half to educate the third part of a child [laughter]. This was really the position of things, and about this third part of a child, the House of Commons, the House of Lords, and the entire country must be thrown into a state of excitement [hear, hear]. He could not believe that if this measure was earnestly opposed it would ever become law.

Mr. G. W. Alexander, in seconding the resolution, said, that he believed if the bill became law, it would be a source of ill-feeling and dissension in town-councils, and lead to a system of great injustice towards those who should happen to be in the minority. This would be the case especially in cathedral towns and boroughs, where the Church influence was very strong, and do much to revive those contests which attached to the old church-rate system, which, of late years, had, to a large extent, died out.

Mr. E. Miall, M.P., in supporting the resolution, said, that the state to which the education question had arrived at the present moment, deeply impressed on his mind the immense importance to be attached to a rigid adherence to abstract principles [hear, hear]. It had been perhaps somewhat of a misfortune, grown into a fault, among the Nonconformists of this country, that they had not attached sufficient importance to a thorough and rigid maintenance of the abstract principles of right that they hold [hear, hear].

I believe there is another matter that we may almost as certainly decide upon, from our past experience, as the one to which I have adverted, and almost equally important—namely, that when we do depart from the abstract principles of right, it is far better that we should depart altogether, than that we should depart only a little. For example, it would have been far

better for us and for the country, fifteen or twenty years ago, when the Government first began to take the matter in hand, had we insisted upon it, that, if Government is to take the education of the people under their control, they shall take it altogether. For observe, we have gone on stealthily, step by step, and as we have gone on so slowly and unperceived, the indignation of the people has not been fairly awakened to the evils which this departure from principle is calculated to produce. The truth is, we are all becoming, in one sense, a pauperized population; by which I mean, that we are depending very much, and inclined to depend a good deal more, upon doing things by Government aid, than by our own intrinsic and inherent energy. They are advancing from elementary education into science and art; they think it their duty to provide museums and public libraries, and so on, for the great towns; things that used to be done by the benevolent and philanthropic feelings of individuals moved thereto, are now being regarded as the duty of Government; and to what this will grow, unless we can fairly put a stop to it, I am perfectly unable to conjecture [hear, hear].

Undoubtedly it was the duty of society to feel for the wants of the poorer classes of the community; but, just in proportion as law stepped in to perform those obligations which devolved upon individuals in consequence of the order of Divine Providence, just in the same proportion would all those motives for the performance of duty upon which the arrangements of Providence proceeded be sapped and weakened, until the very thing which they wished to remedy by the introduction of these means would be greatly increased by the remedy which they proposed [cheers]. He pointed out a wide distinction between money raised for any object by taxation and Voluntary effort:—

What would £2,500,000 represent, if taken from the people by the Government in the form of taxation? What amount of energy, virtue, and promise for the future, would it represent? [hear, hear.] But what would it represent as furnished by the Voluntary efforts of the people themselves? [hear, hear.] In the first place, look at the £500,000 contributed by the people's pence. That is a perfectly startling fact, and I think the impression produced upon the House of Commons when it was stated by Lord John Russell, was greater than by anything else that came out during the whole of his statement; and I augur from it changes of opinion in many members with regard to the soundness of the principles which they have been accustomed to hold on this subject [hear, hear]. Then, again, look at the moral effect which is produced upon the minds of those who contribute to the wants of their poorer neighbours! The very act is an exercising and developing process to virtue, which always brings a blessing with it.

He recommended vigorous practical measures with the view of preventing the Government bill becoming law.

The best way, I take it, is, not by holding large public meetings, even could they be gathered; but I would suggest, that a far more effective course would be, for constituents in boroughs, and in counties too, to have direct communication with their members [hear, hear]. Let those who disapprove of Government interference, unite together in memorializing their own members, beseeching them not to let this bill pass into a law, and earnestly imploring that their utmost influence should be employed to stop the progress of this dangerous system [hear, hear]. Those letters or memorials from constituents might not represent the opinions of majorities, but of those who hold the balance between minorities and majorities,—and in almost every case, I believe, it will be found that there is more thought, consideration, and conversation, produced by this method than by any other you can take [hear, hear]. Wherever it can be done, I would say to electors, visit your members, and bring under their notice all those materials for forming a sound judgment with which you yourselves are acquainted [hear, hear]. There is another mode. You know, we have the taxes on knowledge [hear, hear]. Now, I do in my heart believe, that if we were all to do as we should do in relation to those taxes, we should produce a far greater and convincing effect, both upon the Legislature and the country, than by anything we are now doing for the purpose of opposing this bill [hear, hear]. You should insist upon having these taxes on knowledge repealed altogether [much cheering]. Upon that ground, we shall find a considerable number of members ready to sympathize with us. Mr. Cobden himself, although not opposed upon principle to a school-rate, has distinctly stated, as you remember, in the House, that he would be perfectly willing to dispense with all grants of public money for educational purposes, if these taxes on knowledge were entirely removed [cheers]. And I think that by this course we should show to the working classes themselves that we are the real friends of education. I earnestly hope and believe, that those who have been so consistent, laborious, and singularly accurate in relation to this question, will now be practical, and ultimately succeed [hear, hear]. I do not think we ought to take a despairing view of this matter. I feel persuaded that the bill of Lord John Russell can be stopped [hear, hear]. I am not sanguine with regard to the voting an additional grant of £100,000 to be placed at the disposal of the Committee of Council; but I do hope and trust, that the mind of the Legislature is beginning to be instructed on this point, and that the people will understand their duty in regard to this matter, and say to the Government, Leave us to educate the mind of the country, and do you keep exclusively to your own proper work—the protection of the lives, liberty, and property of the people [hear, and cheers].

Mr. Baines regarded the practical measures suggested by Mr. Miall as of the utmost importance, and trusted that they would be very extensively carried out.

After a brief conversation as to the desirableness of a special reference being made in the petition to the Minute in Council just issued, which Mr. Baines thought to be even worse than the bill itself, the petition, as originally framed, together with the resolution, was unanimously adopted.

The Rev. William Brock moved the second resolution, which was seconded by Mr. Josiah Conder, who said that they were in a very different position now to that in which they were placed when opposing the bill of Sir James Graham. There was an evident disinclina-

tion on the part of the country to oppose any measure brought forward by the present Government, although it might turn out, according to the suggestion made recently in the *Times*, that the measure would not obtain the concurrence of the Church and Tory party [hear, hear]. Now, if that party could be brought to look at the matter in the right light, they would form a very important element in the opposition to this bill, as they did in that to Sir James Graham's. He trusted that the Conference would not separate without resolving upon some energetic course of proceeding against the bill. It was very desirable that the suggestion with respect to constituents communicating, as far as practicable, personally with their members, should be carried out.

Mr. H. R. Ellington thought it would be well for gentlemen to get up meetings in the school-rooms connected with their several places of worship, to adopt petitions to Parliament, and appoint deputations to wait upon the members.

Mr. Samuel Morley moved the next resolution. He believed that if the bill became law, it would tend, in the course of a few years, to diminish, rather than increase, the amount of education, and, at the same time, not improve its quality. He was in hopes, however, that the fact of there being such a large amount of important public business before the House, would lead the Government to postpone this educational measure till the next session. In the meantime, should this prove to be the case, no means should be left unemployed to spread information upon the subject among the people.

The Rev. Thomas Scales seconded the motion, and referred to the steps which had been taken in that part of the West Riding of Yorkshire where he resided, against the bill, which they considered a most injurious and obnoxious measure.

Mr. Frank Crossley, M.P., thought it very desirable to adopt the suggestion made by Mr. Miall. Members of Parliament were far more likely to be influenced by a direct appeal from their constituents than by public meetings. At the same time, they ought not to allow this to interfere with petitions to Parliament, which, although signed only by a few persons, were exceedingly useful.

The Rev. J. Pyer added a few words in favour of the proposal to memorialize the town councils of the various boroughs, some of whom were agents for the sitting members, and might have much influence over their votes. Mr. Miall thought it might be useful, in addition to other means, to invite those members of the House of Commons likely to vote against the Government bill to a private soirée at Morley's Hotel, on Wednesday next, to talk over the subject [hear]. Mr. Bendall imagined that it was very desirable to move the Sunday-school teachers of the country. They were a large and important body of people; and, being strictly Voluntaries themselves, would be found ready to oppose the bill [hear, hear].

Mr. John Remington Mills, who proposed the next resolution, thought the bill of the Government altogether paltry and contemptible; and could not believe that it would be acceptable to the town councils, of whom it would make mere tools in the hands of the Committee of Council. In whatever light the bill was viewed, it must be pronounced bad, as calculated to be productive of much evil and no good.

Mr. Ashton, of Darwen, had heard nothing in the Conference about the proposed bill of the Earl of Shaftesbury, which, it was stated, would contain a clause to compel the children of the poor to attend the schools provided for them. He had much pleasure in seconding the resolution proposed by Mr. Mills.

The resolution having been unanimously adopted, the Rev. J. C. Harrison proposed the sending of a deputation to Lord John Russell, and other members of the Government. Mr. Pye Smith seconded it, and it was unanimously adopted.

The Rev. A. Good moved, and the Rev. J. Unwin seconded, the last resolution, which was also passed unanimously.

Mr. Lawrence Heyworth, M.P., in moving a vote of thanks to the Chairman, expressed his hope that every effort would be made to strengthen the principles they were met that day to support. He should gladly contribute £50 towards the expenses connected with the work of the committee, and felt that he could not better appropriate the sum he had named.

The Rev. H. Richard seconded the motion.

Mr. Baines supported a vote of thanks to Dr. Harris, which was duly acknowledged by the Chairman.

In the course of the proceedings a spirited subscription was commenced. James Cunliffe, Esq., Crossley and Sons, L. Heyworth, Esq., M.P., and S. Morley, Esq., gave each £50, and other gentlemen smaller sums, amounting in all to several hundred pounds.

MEETING AT MANCHESTER.—A meeting of the friends of Voluntary education in Manchester and its neighbourhood, convened by the committee of the Manchester and Salford Auxiliary to the Congregational Board of Education, and consisting of the members of that committee, and other gentlemen, representing various Nonconformist bodies in Manchester, and some of the adjacent towns, was held in the vestry of Cavendish-street Chapel, Manchester, on Monday week, to consider what steps should be taken to oppose the new Government measure of education. On the motion of the Rev. A. E. Pearce, seconded by the Rev. Dr. Clunie, the chair was taken by James Sidebottom, Esq., who called on the Rev. John Thornton, of Stockport, to offer prayer. The Chairman read the circular convening the meeting, and after a few remarks, called on the Rev. A. E. Pearce to state more particularly the objects of the meeting. Mr. Pearce, after referring briefly to the very objectionable character of the new Government measure, said that, inasmuch as Lord John Russell had, by postponing

the further consideration of his bill till after Whitsuntide, and by the publication of his speech, virtually appealed to the public sentiments of the nation, it was of the utmost importance that a very decided expression upon the measure should go forth from the friends of Voluntary education in Manchester, which had been for several months the battle-field of the various educational parties. He strongly recommended the adoption by the meeting of a series of resolutions, condemnatory of the bill, and a petition against it; and suggested that an effort should be made to call forth the prompt and vigorous opposition of the friends of Voluntary education throughout the entire country. The Rev. G. B. Johnson, of Darwen, urged the importance of taking immediate action on the subject, and said that a public meeting had been held in Darwen, where some resolutions, condemnatory of the measure, had been unanimously adopted. He moved that resolutions embodying objections against the bill should be submitted to the meeting for their adoption, which was seconded by Mr. Webster, and carried unanimously. The Rev. A. E. Pearce then submitted a series of resolutions, and a form of petition for the adoption of the meeting, which were successively moved and seconded by the following gentlemen; viz., James Watts, Esq., Rev. J. Fox, James Dilworth, Esq., Rev. John Peters, Rev. G. B. Johnson (Darwen), Mr. Henry Dixon, Rev. Dr. Clunie, Mr. W. Morris, Rev. J. Bruce (Bamford), Rev. W. Patterson, Rev. G. Stansfield, Mr. R. Sugden, Mr. S. Huddleston, Rev. John Raven, Rev. R. Jones, and Rev. A. E. Pearce. All the resolutions (which may be seen in our advertising columns) were unanimously adopted. Towards the close of the meeting, it was announced that letters had been received during the meeting from some gentlemen, who were unable, from the shortness of the notice, and other causes, to be present, and who intimated their cordial concurrence in the objects of the meeting. The Revs. Dr. Halley, James Griffin, Professor Halley, of the Lancashire Independent College, and D. M. Evans (Baptist minister), who had signified their intention to be present, were unavoidably prevented. It was resolved that the petition adopted by the meeting, should be forwarded to John Bright, Esq., M.P., for presentation to the House.

THE NEW MINUTE FOR RURAL DISTRICTS.—A Parliamentary paper contains a copy of minutes, dated 2nd April, 1853, by the Committee of the Privy Council on Education, respecting grants for the support of schools in agricultural districts and grants to promote Voluntary assessments towards the expenses of school-buildings in rural districts. Such schools may receive grants towards the expenses of the preceding year at the rate of 6s. per scholar in boys' schools and 5s. in girls' schools, if the number of scholars be under 50. Above 50 and under 100, the grants are 5s. for each boy and 4s. for each girl; and if the number of scholars be above 100, 4s. may be granted towards the expenses of the instruction of each boy and 3s. for each girl. These rates shall not diminish on account of any increase in the number of scholars until the increase is such as to make the reduced rate for the higher number balance the unreduced rate for the smaller number. The grants, however, are conditional, and shall only be awarded in case the income of the school from endowments, subscriptions, collections, and school-pence, shall have amounted to 14s. per scholar in schools for boys, and 12s. per scholar in schools for girls, exclusive of the annual value of the teacher's house or other school-buildings. There are other conditions respecting attendance, the contributions of the scholars, the qualifications of schoolmasters and schoolmistresses, and the training of pupil-teachers. With regard to Voluntary assessments towards the expenses of school-buildings, the Committee of the Privy Council have resolved that whenever school-room is wanting in any parish under 5,000 inhabitants, and in case the owners and occupiers of property shall raise a sum equal to one-half of the estimated outlay for the erection of suitable premises, the Committee will grant one-half of the same outlay.

On the motion of Mr. Bright, returns have been ordered of the number of day schools and Sunday schools, and of the number of day scholars and Sunday scholars in England and Wales, with the population, distinguishing between public and private day schools, and also distinguishing male and female scholars, according to the census of 1851; also, of the number of day schools and Sunday schools, and of the number of day scholars and Sunday scholars in each of the cities and municipal boroughs of England, with the respective populations, distinguishing between public and private day schools, and also distinguishing male and female scholars, according to the census of 1851.

ANOTHER SUBMARINE TELEGRAPH.—On Wednesday a steamer started from Dover with seventy miles of electric cable, and on Friday morning the wires had been landed at Middlekirk, on the Belgian coast, and messages between that place and London passed to and fro. The wires will shortly be completed to Ostend, when messages will be sent through from London to Ostend and Brussels instantaneously.

REGISTRAR'S QUARTERLY RETURN.—According to the quarterly return of the Registrar-General, the number of marriages on the whole year as well as the quarter greatly exceed that of any previous return. There were 158,439 marriages in 1852, against 153,740 in 1851. On the last quarter of the year there were 47,208 marriages, against 38,291 in the previous quarter. There were 161,598 births registered in the March quarter of 1853, a few less than in the March quarter of 1852. The deaths in the same periods amounted to 118,241 and 106,682 respectively.

It is calculated that there are no less than 100,000 foreign refugees in London.

PRESENTATION OF THE SHAKSPEARE TESTIMONIAL TO KOSSUTH.

On Friday evening, one of the most crowded meetings ever seen within the walls of the London Tavern took place, the object being the presentation to M. Kossuth of a magnificently-bound copy of the works of Shakspeare, purchased by subscriptions of one penny. Long before the hour of meeting, all the passages leading to the great room were densely thronged; and so great was the crowd in the room itself that several persons fainted from the pressure. In the gallery were Madame Kossuth and family, and several Hungarian ladies. The chair was taken by Lord Dudley Stuart, who entered the room at seven o'clock, accompanied by M. Kossuth, Mr. Cobden, Sir Joshua Walmsley, Mr. C. Gilpin, Mr. Nicholay, and some of the more distinguished of the Hungarian exiles. M. Kossuth looked exceedingly well, and was received with a hearty burst of cheering, which was renewed again and again, before the proceedings were allowed to commence. Prominently on the platform was placed the testimonial itself, consisting of a neatly constructed model of Shakspeare's house at Stratford-on-Avon, in which was placed a splendidly-bound copy of "Knight's Shakspeare," ornamented with the arms of the Kossuth family, and elaborately decorated in crimson silk and gold. On the front was a silver plate, with the following inscription:—

Purchased with 9,215 pence, subscribed by English men and women, as a tribute to Louis Kossuth, who achieved his noble mastery of the English language, to be exercised in the noblest cause, from the page of Shakspeare.

Lord Dudley Stuart having addressed the meeting in a speech that was loudly cheered, Mr. D. Jerrold was called upon to present the testimonial. Some confusion, however, prevailed, from the excessive pressure at all accessible points; and, in accordance with repeated suggestions from the rear of the meeting, the testimonial was elevated to the balcony on the platform, and Mr. Jerrold mounted the table. The speech which he then delivered was a beautiful and appropriate one, of which we regret we can give only the concluding sentences:—

Sir, on the part of thousands I herewith present to you this testimonial, in tribute of their admiration, their sympathies, their best wishes. And, sir, hoping, believing, knowing that the day will come when you shall again sit at your own fireside in your own liberated Hungary, we further hope, that sometimes turning the leaves of these word-wealthy volumes, you will think of Englishmen as of a people who had for you and for your cause the warmest admiration and the deepest sympathy; and animated by these feelings, resented with scorn, almost unutterable, the dastard attempts to slander and defame you. The day will come—for it is to doubt the solemn purposes and divine end of human nature to doubt it—the day will come when the darkness that now beigns the greater part of continental Europe, will be rolled away, dispersed by the light of liberty like some suffocating fog. The day will come, when in France men shall re-inherit the right of speech. The day will come, when in Austria men shall take some other lesson from their rulers but the stick; and the day will come, when in Italy the temporal power of the Pope, that red plague upon the brightest spot of God's earth, will have passed away like a spent pestilence. That day must and will come. Meanwhile, sir, we wish you all compatible happiness; all tranquillity, all peaceful enjoyment of the sacred rights of private life in England—in this England, that still denounces the political dictation of a foreign tyrant, as heretofore she has denounced and defied his armed aggressions. For to submit to the one, is to invite the other.

M. Kossuth then rose to respond, and was greeted with an indescribable manifestation of enthusiasm. Having been induced to mount on chairs, the better to be seen and heard, he commenced by saying he felt, after an abstinence of some months from public speaking, almost the embarrassment of a debutant. He replied in the first place to the concluding sentiment of Mr. Jerrold's address:—

My lord, I have here received this evening a precious addition to the numerous tokens of friendship and sympathy to my country, with which people of different climates, different in origin, in language, religious worship, habits, and political organization, have honoured me; tokens worthy to adorn the national hall of new-born Hungary, once the trials of national misfortune shall pass. And may I sink or swim, may I live or die, I trust to God they will be placed there, to stand as memorials of the brotherly tie which unites the national members of mankind to one common family, which has one common Father there above. To those memorials the old Magyar will lead the children of his children; to inspire them with the same just feeling of brotherly affection to their fellow-men; and tell them how we have merited those tokens of world-wide sympathy, by having fought bravely, and suffered ungrudgingly for freedom and fatherland; and admonish them to remain worthy of that sympathy by using wisely, and by maintaining resolutely, that freedom which we will have conquered for them. That, sir, permit me to say, will be a more adequate use of this your valuable gift than should I with selfish egotism of innocent joy only keep it to delight me and my children with at my own humble fireside.

Here, he went on to say, was an expression of public opinion. Nine thousand pence, gathered penny by penny, were so many votes showing that the people of England, in its sympathies for the oppressed, did not so much care about the frowning of foreign despots, whom some like to flatter, and some would fain please [great cheering]. To be sure those working men were not the people of England, but they were from the people—"bone from its bone, and blood from its blood"; who but think and feel as the people does, and cannot otherwise think and feel but just as the people does; the people which, in its uncorrupted spontaneous manifestations, was, is, and will always be, the purest revelation of mankind's divine origin; the people which, with its plain natural aspirations, often points out a better direction of policy, and is a more reliable guide to the most learned politicians, than all the

contorted sophistry of twisted diplomacy; like as Shakspeare has drawn from the limpid source of nature, more truth, more beauty, and a more instructing philosophy than all the scholastic controversy of his age could have taught him." Despots had struck at him when he was living quietly and seldom named, because they thought public opinion was dead—but here was public opinion, and perhaps they would get more of it [immense cheering]. It was only the sympathy of public opinion which oppressed nations required to keep them from despairing—and if they only did not despair they would prevail.

They have by not despairing but to stand prepared to profit of the coming opportunities; and so sure as there is an All-watching Eye there above, the opportunity will not fail to come. As well could a child reverse the wheel of the rolling worlds, as well could you bring to rest the quaking earth with fastening it to a wooden pole, stop the foaming flood with a sieve, or break the hurricane with a sheet of paper, as arrest the rolling course of chance. The opportunity will come, and the oppressed nations, supported in their untired resolutions by the public opinion of the world, will and shall become free. Amen.

M. Kossuth then told a touching story, to the effect that four Hungarian prisoners, confined at Pesth, uncondemned, and despite the refusal of the court-martial to designate them, had been put to death by the arbitrary command of General Kemfer, to avenge the attack of Libényi. He proceeded with a striking description of the circumstances under which he became acquainted at once with Shakspeare and the English language:—

For months there I was in a damp, lonely chamber; seeing neither the sky nor the earth, with none of those inexhaustible consolations which bountiful Nature affords to misfortune and sufferings. And there I was, without a book to read, without a pen to write; there I was with God, with my tranquil conscience, and with meditation alone. But it is fearful to be thus alone, with nothing to arrest the musing eye. Imagination raises its dreadful wings, and carries the mind in a magnetic flight to portentous regions, of which no philosopher has ever dreamt. I gathered up all the strength of my mind, and bade him stop that dangerous soaring. It was done, but I got afraid of myself. So I told my gaolers to give me something to read. Yes, answered they, but nothing political. Well, give me Shakspeare, with an English grammar and a dictionary; that you will take, I trust, not to be political. Of course not, answered they, and gave it to me—and there I sat musing over it. For months it was a sealed book to me, as the hieroglyphs were long to Champollion, and as Layard's Assyrian monuments still are. But at last the light spread over me, and I drank in full cups, with never-quenched thirst, and from that limpid source of delightful instruction and of instructive delight. Thus I learnt the little English I know. But I learnt something more besides. I learned politics. What, politics from Shakspeare? Yes, gentlemen. What else are politics than philosophy applied to the social condition of men, and what is philosophy but the knowledge of nature and of the human heart; and who ever penetrated deeper into the recesses of these mysteries than Shakspeare did?

Since his release from Kutayah, he had made six hundred speeches—had been listened to and acclaimed by literally millions of people. Why had he been thus honoured? Not for his skill in oratory—for he could say, without affectation, that he had always "ambitioned" to excel rather in deeds than words; and if he had combined in himself "the genius of Demosthenes and the talents of Cicero," his oratory would not have stood the test of six hundred repetitions [hear, hear, and laughter]. It was because he had spoken for liberty—because he had held up the bleeding image of his country. And the best thanks he could give for this testimonial, and similar honours, was the assurance that he and his countrymen would endure anything, and wait any time, but would never give up the resolve of retrieving independence.

May tyrants rage in blind fury, and decimate the patriots of Hungary, still the day of redress and of retribution shall come. Yes, my lord, the hangman's rope may stifle the curse on the oppressor's head, which is mixed with the dying victim's last prayer to God—but no power on earth can prevent that curse to fall down on the oppressor's head, because there is a God in heaven, and there will be justice on earth; the blood from the patriot's heart spilt at the tyrant's command may deluge the soil of our fatherland, and the dogs may lick up what there was mortal in that blood, but no power on earth can prevent its immortal atoms to mount to the Almighty God—like as the blood of Abel did mount. The body of the martyrs may rot in the cold grave, a meat for the worms; but their immortal spirits will gather round the throne of the Eternal, praying for justice to their down-trodden native land; and there they stand, and their name is legion. I see them with the eyes of my soul. The prisons may be filled with new victims day by day, till thieves and felons have to be amnestied to get a place for persecuted patriots. Exiles may be spread over the wide world, and some of them corrupted by long distress; others surrounded by lurking spies; and the people at home, those millions of unnamed demigods with immortal souls, and with sacred aspirations in their souls—they may drag silently their chains, with no more tears in their eyes, their source being outworn—with no curse on their lips, it being too intense to be dressed in words. All this may be done—it is—and many things beside; but there is no power on earth to reconcile man to oppression, no power on earth to make him contented with annihilation of his personal, social, and national rights—contented with seeing his nation reduced to the condition of mere prayers of insupportable, heavy taxes, for the sole purpose of being ruled by violence and arbitrary rule, without getting in return either religious liberty, or civil rights, or political freedom, or rational existence, or personal security, or security of property, or some material welfare at least; but, having all this trampled down by a foreign despotic rule, there is no power on earth to make a man love his tyrant and hate his native land—no power on earth to make Hungary and Italy not to detest and to abhor the bloody perjurious House of Austria. With these facts, that truth, and all the necessary, the unavoidable, and, I dare say, fatalistical con-

sequences resulting therefrom before our eyes, what contemptible mountebankery it is to see the despots and their helpmates assuming the air that were it not for some so-called conspirators Italy would love Austrian tyranny, and Hungary would get reconciled to its unutterable sufferings and wrongs [cheers]. Conspirators! But in the name of all what is sacred to man, those oppressors there, they are the conspirators against God, against humanity, against the peace of the world! It is they who make Europe boil like a volcano, and the continent quake to the very foundation of society! I beseech you but to read the declaration of independence of Hungary. I will let it be reprinted—provided it be lawful in England to print it [a parenthetical exclamation that excited immense cheering]—that it may be recalled to the memory of the world. I beseech you to read it, and then I would like to see who in the face of high heaven will call Francis Joseph "illustrious youth, the hope of his people"—the hope of his people! Oh, mighty God! and we will see who it is whom the uncorrupted and incorruptible public opinion shall call a traitor and conspirator. Conspirators! Would you call a conspirator the worm which is writhing beneath the foot which tramples it to death; the insect a conspirator which springs towards the heel which crushes him; or the spring a conspirator, that it dares to melt the winter's ice, and push nature to new blooming life? But liberty is life to man everywhere: it is doubly so to a Magyar's heart. It is liberty which makes man; without liberty, man were but domestic animals kept to profit their owners, having not an aim by themselves. He had sworn, when elected Governor of Hungary, to defend to the death her ancient and re-purchased independence. He gave up the dignity and titles of the place, but not the solemn responsibility of that oath. He concluded by again expressing his trust in the force of public opinion, and his heartfelt gratitude for this gift.

Alderman Wire, Sir Joshua Walmsley, and Mr. Cobden, then addressed the meeting—the last named at some length—in severe reprobation of the calumnies of the *Times*, and the complicity of the Government with foreign police practices.

Mr. Gilpin moved, and Mr. Nicholay seconded a vote of thanks to the Chairman, who announced that several meetings to sympathize with M. Kossuth were in preparation. The meeting broke up with hearty cheering for Kossuth and his family.

Europe and America.

The French Empress is stated to be considerably better. She left her bed for the first time on Sunday. All festivities and gaieties at the Tuileries have been suspended. The Emperor takes no part in public amusements, and it is said that as soon as the season is sufficiently advanced he will carry the Empress to the Chateau of Henry the Fourth, at Pau, in the Pyrenees, and thence to Les Eaux Bonnes.

A mass in honour of "Napoleon the Great" was celebrated at the Tuileries on Wednesday, in the presence of the Emperor, his Ministers, and great officers. Some serious differences have arisen between the Legislative Corps and the Council of State. It appears that the Council of State refuses to adopt the amendments introduced by the Legislative Corps into the bill relative to civil pensions—amendments which are by no means favourable to the retiring functionaries. On another measure there is also a collision.

The Belgian Legislature has been discussing with a good deal of animation, a proposition by Ministers to increase the army to 100,000 men. The debates have not yet terminated. One of the reasons for the proposition is said to be a threatening note received by the King from Louis Napoleon, reproaching him with coldness towards France, and amity towards other powers. King Leopold has gone to Berlin. The King of Prussia has conferred the order of the Black Eagle on the Duke of Brabant, eldest son of the Belgian King.

Monsignor Belgrado, the Pope's Internuncio in Holland, is making a tour through the various dioceses of the kingdom, for the purpose of installing the new Roman Catholic bishops. The Archbishop of Utrecht will take his domicile at Bois-le-Duc.

The Government of Hesse Cassel having expelled three Opposition members from the Second Chamber, several of their colleagues have resigned their seats. The Government has ordered the latter to leave Cassel immediately, pretending that a conference which they had held was an illegal meeting. The popular indignation is excited, but no disturbance of public order is apprehended.

Herr Müller-Melchior, the leader of the Liberal and Free-trade Opposition in the Darmstadt Chamber, was led to prison on Monday week to undergo the punishment of two months' confinement, for words spoken in his place in Parliament.

The *Milan Gazette* of the 30th ult. contains a notification from the military commandant of Lombardy, mitigating some of the rigours of the state of siege.

The confiscations are continued. The Bishop of Pavia has been desired to publish a pastoral letter in favour of Austria. He has declined doing so, because he considers such a pastoral letter at variance with his episcopal mission.

The Austrian army which occupies Tuscany is to be lessened by 2,000 men, who are to be detached into the Romagna.

The anniversary of the festival of the Constitution was celebrated at Turin on the 8th inst. The King, the Queen, the Ministers, senators, and deputies, and the foreign ambassadors, among whom was the Count Appony, attended divine service in honour of the day. The King held a review of the national guards and

the troops of the line, amid the enthusiastic cheers of the population.

Thirteen persons, who are suspected of belonging to a secret society, have been arrested at Feracia, near Barcelona. They were all of them Frenchmen and Italians.

The military tribunal at St. Petersburg, connected with the late embezzlements, has passed sentence on the accused. General Uschakow is to be dismissed the service, with six months' imprisonment; Admiral Kolsakow, to be simply dismissed; and Generals Arbasow, Grabbe, and Sasa, to undergo three months' imprisonment. General Uschakow's sentence has been confirmed by the Emperor; the severity of the others has been mitigated.

The Administrative Council of the kingdom of Poland has decreed the confiscation of the property of those political refugees who have not thought proper to take advantage of the amnesty which the Emperor has granted to them.

The Russian Government has announced its intention of doubling the duty on imported books.

A telegraphic message from Constantinople, dated April 25, says:—Lord Stratford appeared altogether satisfied with the settlement of the question of the Holy Places. He was preparing for a struggle on the question of the Greek Patriarchate. The Prince Menschikoff was waiting for instructions from St. Petersburg previous to the presentation of his ultimatum.

The following is intelligence from Smyrna, April 27:—Yielding to the menaces of Russia and Austria, the Turkish Government has resolved to expel all the political refugees from the territories of the Ottoman Empire. In the course of this day, the order for their expulsion has been communicated to five Italians. The same measure will be applied to the Hungarians and the Wallachians. The French squadron is still in the bay of Salamis, where it continues its artillery practices.

Intelligence from the United States is very meagre. The Kane extradition case had been decided by the acquittal of Kane. The judge held that all orders for extradition, in order to be valid, must come through the President of the United States; that the order for the arrest of Kane did not so emanate, and he must, therefore, be discharged.

Father Gavazzi was lecturing at New York with great success; he was repeating his lectures a second time, for the benefit of those who were crowded out on the first occasion.

FOREIGN MISCELLANY.

A CONGRESS OF SOVEREIGNS is expected to take place in Vienna in the course of this month. The Kings of Prussia and Bavaria will certainly come, and Otto of Greece, and Leopold of Belgium (or rather of the Belgians) will probably attend. The presence of the Emperor of Russia is doubtful.

California had a population in December last, of 308,507. Of those from the Celestial Empire it is supposed there are about 25,000.

A private letter from Rome says that the Pope has sent a "special blessing" to Dr. Newman in his own handwriting, which is not usually done. "I had the document in my hands," adds the writer, "and I give you the translation as well as my memory serves me:—'May the Almighty and merciful God bless him, and give him grace and strength to withstand the attacks of his enemies, and to resist the assaults of the evil one; and may he remember that being acceptable to God, he must be well proved by temptation.'"

SLAVE TRADE.—A letter from Matanzas describes the landing of a large cargo of slaves on the Cuban coast, in open and flagrant violation of the treaties with Great Britain, and gives a frightful picture of the atrocities now committed by the Spaniards in this inhuman and revolting traffic.

THE CZAR AND THE EMPEROR OF CHINA.—A letter from St. Petersburg, of April 25, mentioned in the *Patrie* of Paris, says:—"There is much talk in the best informed circles of a Russian envoy, sent to China overland, and who, it is said, has already arrived at Kiatha, a town belonging jointly to the two Governments. It is confidently reported that the object of his mission is to offer to the Sovereign of the Celestial Empire the aid of Russia for the purpose of quelling the insurrection in his dominions."

BOOKS RECEIVED.

| | |
|--|-----------------------|
| Christian Examiner. | Tweedie. |
| National Temperance Chronicle. | Tweedie. |
| Mazzini Judged by Himself and his Countrymen. | Vizitelly. |
| Sunday Reading. Part II. | Office, Amen-corner. |
| The Christian Reformer. | Whitfield. |
| The Church Journal. No. I. | Office, Essex-street. |
| India Reform. Nos. II. and III. | Saunders & Stanford. |
| Anti-Slavery Reporter. | Clarke & Co. |
| American Slavery Discussed in Congress. | W. & F. Cash. |
| Herald of Peace. | W. & F. Cash. |
| Debate on the Gradual Extinction of the National Debt. | Ridgway. |
| R. Owen's Quarterly Review. | Clayton. |
| Letter to Baron Cranworth on the Constitution of the Ecclesiastical Courts. (For private circulation.) | Clayton. |
| The Crown of Denmark. | Clayton. |
| United Presbyterian Magazine. | Oliphant. |
| Missionary Record of United Presbyterian Church. | Oliphant. |
| The Bridges of London. | E. Wilson. |
| The Colonial Intelligencer. | Cash. |
| The Crystal Palace. By R. Le Blond. | Watson. |
| Rosalie. | A. Hall & Co. |
| Poetry of Home. | Tweedie. |
| The Sceptic. | Tweedie. |
| London Temperance League Register. | Tweedie. |
| Speech of Wendell Phillips. | Tweedie. |
| A Reprint of the American Church. | Tweedie. |
| Chambers' Pocket Miscellany. | W. & R. Chambers. |
| The Female Jesuit abroad. | Partridge & Oakley. |

BIRTH.

May 3, the wife of the Rev. Samuel Wells Kilpin, of Reading, of a daughter.

MARRIAGES.

May 3, at Swindon, Wilts, Mr. JAMES LANG, of Promenade-villas, Cheltenham, to LOUISA SUSANNA, third daughter of T. STRANGE, Esq. And on the same day, Mr. THOMAS CULL, of Dursley, to SARAH, fourth daughter of the same T. STRANGE, Esq.

May 4, in Dublin, by the Rev. W. Urwick, D.D., Mr. WILLIAM UNDERHILL, youngest son of Mr. M. Underhill, of Oxford, to ELIZABETH, only daughter of Mr. CHARLES BENSON NICHOLSON, of Dublin.

May 5, at Christ Church, High Harrogate, by the Rev. Thomas Sheepshanks, M.A., ROBERT KESALL, Esq., of Deepish Hill, Rochdale, to MARY ELIZABETH, only daughter of H. FORBES, Esq., Harrogate.

May 5, at East-parade Chapel, Leeds, by the Rev. H. E. Reynolds, Mr. JAMES BEDFORD, manufacturing chemist, to EMILIA, daughter of Mr. S. DENISON, whitesmith, all of Leeds.

May 5, at the Independent Chapel, Truro, by license, by the Rev. R. Panks, the Rev. WILLIAM KINGSLAND, of Devizes, to CAROLINE EMILIA, fourth daughter of J. PADDON, Esq., of the former place.

May 5, at St. James's Chapel, Newport, Isle of Wight, Mr. DRANE, of London, to SARAH ANN, eldest daughter of the Rev. E. GILES, Newport, Isle of Wight.

May 5, at John-street Chapel, by the Hon. and Rev. B. W. Noel, FREDERICK, eldest son of T. BUTCHER, Esq., Jun., of Tring, Herts, to ANN, youngest daughter of J. GARRATT, Esq., of Chesham, Bucks.

May 7, at the Congregational Chapel, Caledonian-road, London by the Rev. Ebenezer Davies, Mr. JOSEPH TIDMARCH, builder, to CAROLINE, daughter of Mr. T. TANDY, needle manufacturer, both of Islington.

May 10, at Dorford Chapel, Dorchester, by the Rev. George Kerry, Mr. GERARD BLAKEMAN, of Birmingham, to MARY, only daughter of Mr. G. ATKINS, Chartist.

DEATHS.

April 30, at the Deanery, Peterborough, of disease of the heart, the Very Rev. GEORGE BUTLER, D.D., Dean of Peterborough, formerly Head Master of Harrow School.

April 30, at his residence, Camden-grove, Kensington, JAMES ROX, Esq., a magistrate and deputy-lieutenant of the county of Middlesex, in his 63rd year.

May 1, at his residence, 40, Welbeck-street, after a short illness, JAMES MILLER, Esq., M.D., Assistant-Physician to the London Hospital, aged 34.

May 2, at Dunmow, aged 64, SARAH, the beloved wife of Mr. R. TAYLOR.

May 3, at Marseilles, in the 45th year of his age, GEORGE KING, Esq., of No. 11, Lorraine-place, Upper Holloway. He was formerly Secretary to the Birmingham and Gloucester, and afterwards to the Chester and Holyhead Railway.

May 3, in Newington-terrace, Kennington-common, THOMAS SHEPHERD, Esq., in his 95th year.

May 4, at Calne, Wilts, in the 74th year of his age, the Rev. WILLIAM LUSH, many years pastor of the Baptist Church, Castle-street Chapel, in that town, which office he resigned, in 1845, on account of infirm health.

May 6, LYDIA, second daughter of the late Mr. W. BENNETT, of Henley on Thames.

May 6, at the house of his uncle, Rev. H. J. Rook, Faversham, where he had gone for change of air, Mr. JAMES BASS, of London, aged 22 years.

May 7, at his residence, Croyham, near Croydon, in his 37th year, ROBERT JOHN POLLOCK, Esq., second son of the Lord Chief Baron.

May 8, at Brighton, ROBERT, third son of C. S. BUTLER, Esq., M.P., in the 12th year of his age.

May 9, at her house, East-hill, Wandsworth Common, in her 88th year, JANET, widow of the late Mr. A. ADAM, formerly of Lower Thames-street, and Clayton-place, Kennington.

Money Market and Commercial Intelligence.

CITY, TUESDAY EVENING.

The English Funds have been steady during the past week, and there has been a considerable demand for stock. Money has been in increased request; first class paper not being done under 3 per cent. To-day there has been a good deal of business in money purchases of most of the funded securities; the announcement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer relative to his intentions regarding the June bills, causing a suspension of transactions in that issue. March bills are quoted par to 5s. prem.

The Bank returns are again remarkable—exhibiting a decrease in the stock of bullion to the extent of £200,000. The imports of the precious metals have been to the extent of £1,020,000, of which about £400,000 was received from Australia. The exports, however, were only to the extent of about £332,000, which thus show a falling off in the shipments, but a large increase in the arrivals, say, to the extent of about £690,000.

Foreign Securities are dull, but the Railway Share Market is fairly supported by *bona fide* purchases. There has been a rally in some few mining shares.

The reports of the trade of the manufacturing towns during the past week denote a continuance of the remarkable prosperity exhibited in the Board of Trade returns recently issued. At Manchester stocks are low and prices very firm. The accounts of the revolution in China have not caused shipments to be discontinued to this country, and, with regard to the general trade to the East, merchants and manufacturers are showing a disposition to have clipper ships built for their own individual service. At Birmingham transactions have been increased by the fall in the price of metals. Many hundred iron houses are said to be in course of construction for Australia, estimated to fetch £70 each on delivery in the colony, and orders have also been received for cavalry barracks and a church for the same destination. The tendency to a rise in wages continues, and it is proposed to meet the demands of operative builders by an advance of 3d. per day and a cessation of labour every Saturday at 2 o'clock. New houses are being erected in the borough of Birmingham at the rate of 3,000 or 4,000 a-year.

The departures from the port of London for the Australian colonies during the past week show an increase in tonnage but not in number, and have comprised vessels of all classes. They consist of seven to Port Phillip, with an aggregate burden of 3,938 tonnage; two to Hobart Town, of the aggregate burden of 523 tonnage; one to Melbourne of 426 tons; one to Portland Bay, of 432 tons; and one to Swan River, of 704 tons. The total capacity was, consequently, 6,023

POMEROY, ANDREWS and Co., PROPRIETORS,
Pints, 4s.; Small Quarts, 4s. 6d.; Imperial Quarts, 7s. 6d.
Mammoths, holding two Quarts, 11s. Six Mammoths sent free
to any part of the kingdom for 60s. By this reduction in Small
Quarts and Mammoths, there is an immense gain to the pur-
chaser.

TO THE FRIENDS OF POLITICAL,

ECCLESIASTICAL, and THEOLOGICAL FREEDOM.—For several months there has been in existence a Monthly Journal devoted to the cause intimated above, and especially seeking the reconciliation of the working classes to the claims of Christianity. In these times, when the bases, discipline, and influences of Churches, Societies, and Sects are being discussed, it is obviously important that an organ entirely independent of all of them should be efficiently sustained and widely circulated. The paper in question has already proved itself eminently *free*. Its circulation is, by no means small, and gradually increases. It is felt, however, that the expenditure of a small amount of capital in advertising, gratuitous circulation among working men, &c., would greatly contribute to the safety and usefulness of the undertaking. Persons interested in the principles herein avowed, and willing to contribute to the stability of an appropriate medium for their diffusion, are respectfully requested to communicate with W. X. Y. Z., care of William Freeman, 69, Fleet-street, London.

NATIONAL TEMPERANCE SOCIETY.

TEMPERANCE DISCOURSES in connexion with the Eleventh Anniversary, will be delivered on LORD'S DAY, May 15:

MORNING.—Coopers'-garden Chapel, Hackney-road (¼ to 11). By Rev. G. AUSTIN.—Earl-street chapel, London-road (11 o'clock). By W. T. SYMONS.

AFTERNOON.—New Church-street Chapel, Edgware-road (3 o'clock). By Rev. WILLIAM FORSTER.

EVENING.—Christ Church, Chelsea (¼ past 6). Rev. W. W. ROBINSON, M.A.—Little Prescott-street, Goodman's-fields (¼ past 6). Rev. C. STOVEL.—Richmond Chapel, Caledonian-road (¼ past 6). Rev. W. R. BAKER.—Willow-walk Chapel, Tabernacle-square (6 o'clock). Rev. H. TARRANT.—Hervey-street Chapel, Hoxton (6 o'clock). Rev. W. GARNER.—Klennexor Chapel, 110, Shoreditch (¼ past 6). Rev. T. J. MESSER.—Crisp-street Chapel, Poplar (¼ past 6). Rev. J. PETTY.—Good Samaritan Hall, Little Saffron-hill (¼ past 6). Rev. DAWSON BURNS.

Sermons will also be delivered on TUESDAY EVENING, May 17, at Sutton-street Chapel, Commercial-road (7 o'clock). By Rev. W. GARNER.

And on WEDNESDAY EVENING, May 18, at Stoke Newington, Wesleyan Reform Chapel (7 o'clock) Rev. M. WILSON.

The ANNUAL MEETING will be held in EXETER HALL, THURSDAY, May 19. The Chair to be taken, at Six o'clock, by EDWARD BAINES, Esq., of Leeds.

Rev. Professor Stowe, Rev. Charles Beecher, Rev. Dr. Tyng, Rev. G. C. Hutton, a deputation from the Scottish Temperance League, Lawrence Heyworth, Esq., M.P., George Cruikshank, Esq., Rev. Dr. Marsh, Rev. Dr. Burns, John Cassell, Esq., and other distinguished speakers, have promised to attend.

On the morning of the same day, a PUBLIC BREAKFAST (8 a.m.) at the White Hart Hotel, 200, Bishopgate-street Without. Tickets, 1s. 6d. each, to be had at the Office, 59, Fleet-street; 34, Tweddle, 337, Strand; and Mr. W. Cash, 5, Bishopgate-street Without, where Tickets may be obtained for the Platform and 1st and 2nd Galleries at Exeter Hall. Admission to all other parts of the Hall without Ticket.

A Sermon will also be preached on LORD'S DAY, May 22, in Surrey Chapel, Blackfriars-road, by Rev. Dr. C. E. STOWE. Service to commence at 3 o'clock.

NATIONAL FREEHOLD-LAND SOCIETY.

WEEKLY REPORT, May 7, 1853.

| | Last Totals. | During the Week. | Present Totals. |
|-----------------------------|--------------|------------------|-----------------|
| Cash received, £457,816 2 5 | £5,754 18 3 | £463,571 8 0 | |
| Shares issued, 52,678 | 775 | 53,453 | |

SHARES DRAWN DURING THE WEEK.

Monday.—46,587, 81,133, 52,752, 18,880, 48,893, 45,059, 4,828, 43,044, 90,703, 16,440.
Tuesday.—38,599, 14,894, 19,175, 8,682, *8,126, *8,127, *8,128.
Wednesday.—33,060, 30,528, 35,773, 28,550, 33,368, 3,226, 10,764, 50,960, 24,016, 42,698, 52,882, 1,582.
Thursday.—42,439, 50,897, 32,963, 47,092, 47,701, 23,908, 43,650, 28,504, 30,835, 32,458, 11,721.
Friday.—22,986, 44,984, 36,227.
Saturday.—2,393, 24,807, *20,623, *20,624, *20,625, *20,626, *20,627, 32,382, 44,727, 15,980, 4,050, 23,257, 46,317.
* Grouped.

The shares numbered 26,641, 38,306, 37,332, 7,867, 35,641, 26,477, 30,302, 48,236, 49,087, 37,137, 7,889, 39,871, 14,791, 29,999, 38,718, 11,667, and 25,898, were also drawn; but as the subscriptions thereon were in arrear, the holders thereof have lost the benefit of this drawing.

Copies of the Prospectus, Rules, and last Annual Report, may be obtained at the office, or by post, gratis.

W. E. WHITTINGHAM, Secretary.

14, Moorgate-street.

NEW and CHEERFUL REGISTER

STOVE.—In the Construction of the BURTON REGISTER STOVE it was the first care of the inventor, WILLIAM S. BURTON, to avail himself of the most valued of modern improvements in the art of heating; and, secondly, so to modify and alter the receptacle for the coals as at once to obtain the simplest and most perfect combination. After a long series of experiments, he has, by the substitution of a graceful form of shell for the present clumsy and ill-adapted bars, succeeded in producing a stove, which for soft and brilliant light, as well as purity and quantity of heat, is far beyond his most sanguine expectations while for cleanliness and cheerfulness it is utterly unapproachable. Price from 5s. to £15. To be seen in use daily in his show-rooms; where also are to be seen

TWO HUNDRED and FIFTY STOVES,

and THREE HUNDRED and TWENTY-FIVE FENDERS (exclusive of reserved stock), all differing in pattern, forming the largest assortment ever collected together. They are marked in plain figures, and at prices proportionate with those that have tended to make his establishment the most distinguished in this country. Bright Stoves, with bronzed ornaments and two sets of bars, £2 14s. to £5 10s.; ditto, with ornate ornaments and two sets of bars, £5 10s. to £12 12s.; bronzed Fenders, complete, with standards, from 7s. to £3; steel Fenders, from £2 15s. to £6; ditto, with rich ornate ornaments, from £2 15s. to £7 7s.; Fire-irons, from 1s. 9d. the set to £4 4s. Sylvester and all other patent Stoves with radiating hearth-plates; and Kitchen Ranges, which he is enabled to sell at these very reduced charges,

First—From the frequency and extent of his purchases; and
Secondly—From those purchases being made exclusively for cash.

WILLIAM S. BURTON has TEN LARGE SHOW-ROOMS (all communicating), exclusive of the Shop, devoted solely to the show of GENERAL FURNISHING IRONMONGERY (including cutlery, nickel silver, plated, and japanned wares, iron and brass bedsteads), so arranged and classified that purchasers may easily and at once make their selections.

Catalogues, with Engravings, sent (per post) free. The money returned for every article not approved of.

39, OXFORD-STREET (corner of Newman-street); Nos. 2 & 3 NEWMAN-STREET; and 4 & 5, PERRY'S-PLACE.

TRIUMPHANT SUCCESS.

ALL the SHARES in the CONGREGATIONAL BUILDING SOCIETY were issued, and the Society closed, at the third meeting.

£30,000 now subscribed for. Strict Economy. The Expenses of formation averages only Elevenpence per Share.

The Directors have resolved immediately to establish the CONGREGATIONAL BENEFIT BUILDING SOCIETY, No. 2. £500 will be offered to the Members at the First Subscription Meeting, on WEDNESDAY, 25th of May, 1853, at Seven o'clock, at BUCKINGHAM CHAPEL VESTRY-ROOM, Palace-street, Pimlico. Monthly Subscription, 5s.; Entrance Fee, 1s.; Rules, 6d. Mixed to close in Ten years. No Ballot Rule. No Redemption Fee. Fixed Law Charges. Six per cent. on withdrawal. The whole of the Purchase Money and Law Charges advanced. Loans received at Six per cent.

R. G. PEACOCK, Secretary.

17, Churton-street, Pimlico.

* Immediate applications should be made for Shares, as this Society is confidently expected to close at the First Subscription Meeting, or, if not closed, the Entrance Fee will most likely be raised.

Females, Minors, and Country Persons may join.

LIFE ASSURANCE.

UNITED KINGDOM TEMPERANCE AND GENERAL PROVIDENT INSTITUTION,

39, MOORGATE-STREET, LONDON.

Established 1840.

For the Mutual Assurance of Lives, Endowments, Annuities, &c.

Since the commencement of this Institution it has issued upwards of SEVEN THOUSAND POLICIES. In the year 1852 it issued 1,177, and in the quarter ending 31st March, 1853, it issued 354; being a larger number than some older and most respectable offices issue in twelve months.

The following Table exhibits the progress of the Institution at the end of each Fourth year from its commencement:—

| Date. | No. of Policies Issued. | Amount of Income. | Amount of Capital. |
|-------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| From 1841 to 1845 | 1,373 | £ 4,404 0 8 | £ 5,279 0 0 |
| From 1845 to 1849 | 1,794 | £ 10,145 13 9 | £ 24,098 0 0 |
| From 1849 to 1853 | 3,607 | £ 28,367 5 0 | £ 71,024 19 3 |

The Temperance and Public sections are kept in separate classes, and will each receive their own profits.

Policies are indisputable, except for palpable fraud.

Sums assured may be made payable to a widow, widower, or child, without legacy or probate duty.

Entire Profits belong to the Assured.

Edinburgh Office, 17, George-street; Manchester, 52, Princess-street; Liverpool, 48, Castle-street; Glasgow, 60, Maxwell-street. Prospectuses, &c., may be obtained at the Branch Offices, or of any of the Agents.

N.B.—The Annual General Meeting will be held on Monday, the 16th of May, 1853, at Two o'clock, P.M., at the Whittington Club House, Arundel-street, Strand, London.

WILLIAM RICHARD BAKER, Resident Director.

CLERICAL, MEDICAL, and GENERAL LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY.

Established 1824.

Empowered by Special Act of Parliament.

ADVANTAGES.

EXTENSION OF LIMITS OF RESIDENCE.—The Assured can reside in any part of Europe, the Holy Land, Egypt, Madeira, the Cape, Australia, New Zealand, and in most parts of North and South America, without extra charge.

MUTUAL SYSTEM WITHOUT THE RISK OF PARTNERSHIP.

The small share of Profit divisible in future among the Shareholders being now provided for, the Assured will hereafter derive all the benefits obtainable from a Mutual Office, with, at the same time, complete freedom from liability—thus combining in the same office all the advantages of both systems.

The Assurance Fund already invested amounts to £280,000, and the Income exceeds £136,000 per annum.

CREDIT SYSTEM.—On Policies for the whole of Life, one half of the Annual Premiums for the first five years may remain on credit, and may either continue as a debt on the Policy, or may be paid off at any time.

LOANS.—Loans are advanced on Policies which have been in existence five years and upwards, to the extent of nine-tenths of their value.

BONUSES.—Five Bonuses have been declared; at the last in January, 1853, the sum of £131,125 was added to the Policies, producing a Bonus varying with the different ages from 24½ to 55 per cent. on the Premiums paid during the five years, or from £5 to £12 10s. per cent. on the Sum Assured.

PARTICIPATION IN PROFITS.—Policies participate in the Profits in proportion to the number and amount of the Premiums paid between every division, so that if only one year's Premium be received prior to the Books being closed for any division, the Policy on which it was paid will obtain its due share. The books close for the next Division on the 30th June, 1856, therefore those who effect Policies before the 30th June next, will be entitled to one year's additional share of Profits over later assurers.

APPLICATION OF BONUSES.—The next and future Bonuses may be either received in Cash, or applied at the option of the assured in any other way.

NON-PARTICIPATION IN PROFITS.—Assurances may be effected for a Fixed Sum at considerably reduced rates, and the Premiums for term Policies are lower than at most other Safe Offices.

PROMPT SETTLEMENT OF CLAIMS.—Claims paid thirty days after proof of death, and all Policies are indisputable except in cases of fraud.

INVALID LIVES may be assured at rates proportioned to the increased risk.

POLICIES are granted on the lives of persons in any station, and of every age, and for any sum on one life from £50 to £10,000.

PREMIUMS may be paid yearly, half yearly, or quarterly, and if the payment of any Premium be omitted from any cause, the Policy can be revived within fourteen Months.

The Accounts and Balance Sheets are at all times open to the inspection of the Assured, or of Persons desirous to assure.

Tables of Rates and forms of Proposal, can be obtained of any of the Society's Agents, or of

GEORGE H. PINCKARD, Resident Secretary.

99, Great Russell-street, Bloomsbury, London.

DR. KING'S SARSAPARILLA COCOA.

TO those under a course of Sarsaparilla this COCOA will be found an excellent beverage, instead of tea or coffee (which decidedly excite the nervous system, and prevent medicine, particularly Sarsaparilla, from having its desired effect). Invalids with weak stomachs will receive more benefit from this pure Cocoa than any preparation, being made with true Cocos Nibs, combined with pure Sarsaparilla, and rendered more palatable.

In Packets, at 1s. 6d. per lb., or 3½lbs. for 4s.

To prevent fraud, HENRY HIDES has caused his name to be put upon each packet, and without which none is genuine, and to imitate which is felony.

Sold by all respectable Medicine Vendors in the United Kingdom, and by the Proprietor, at his LABORATORY, 10, HUNGERFORD-STREET, STRAND, LONDON.

THE GROWTH AND BEAUTY OF THE HAIR.

A FINE HEAD OF HAIR is justly considered the most distinguished ornament of the Human Frame, and the art by which this is realized and sustained is deservedly held in high estimation. The successful results of the last half century have proved beyond question that

ROWLANDS' MACASSAR OIL

possesses singularly nourishing powers in the growth, restoration, and improvement of the Human Hair, and when every other specific has failed.

This celebrated Oil is now universally acknowledged to be the cheapest, and superior to all other preparations, for the Hair. It prevents it from falling off or turning grey—strengthens weak Hair—produces a thick and luxuriant growth—cleanses it from Scurf and Dandruff, sustains it in maturity, and continues its possession of healthy vigour, silky softness, and luxurious redundancy to the latest period of human life. Its operation in cases of baldness is peculiarly active; and in the growth of Whiskers, Eyebrows, and Mustaches, it is also unfailing in its stimulative operation. For children it is especially recommended, as forming the basis of a beautiful Head of Hair, and rendering the use of the fine-comb unnecessary. In dressing the hair, nothing can equal its effect, rendering it so admirably soft that it will lie in any direction, producing beautifully-flowing curls, and imparting a transcendent lustre. A small Pamphlet accompanies each bottle of ROWLANDS' MACASSAR OIL, wherein important hints and advice will be found on the Culture of the Hair in Infancy, and on its preservation and beauty through the several stages of human life. Its invaluable properties have obtained the Patronage of Royalty and the Aristocracy throughout Europe; while the high esteem in which it is universally held, with numerous Testimonials (open for inspection at the Proprietors') constantly received of its efficacy, afford the best and surest proofs of its merits.

Price 3s. 6d. and 7s.; or family bottles (equal to four small), at 10s. 6d., and double that size, 21s.

On the wrapper of each bottle are the words, ROWLANDS' MACASSAR OIL, in two lines.—Sold by A. ROWLAND and SONS, 20, Hatton Garden, London, and all Chemists and Perfumers.

RUPTURES.

THE MOC-MAIN PATENT LEVER

TRUSS, requiring no steel spring round the body, is recommended for the following peculiarities and advantages:—1st, Facility of application; 2nd, Perfect freedom from liability to chafe or excoriate; 3rd, It may be worn with equal comfort in any position of the body, by night or day; 4th, It admits of every kind of exercise without the slightest inconvenience to the wearer, and is perfectly concealed from observation.

"We do not hesitate to give to this invention our unqualified approbation, and we strenuously advise the use of it to all those who stand in need of that protection, which they cannot so fully, nor with the same comfort, obtain from any other apparatus or truss as from that which we have the highest satisfaction in thus recommending."—Church and State Gazette.

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